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The First Thoroughfares of
Indiana

The NATIONAL ROAD

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INTERNAL IMPROVEMENT IN INDIANA.

NO. I—THE FIRST THOROUGHFARES.

The Indian Trails—Pioneer Traces—The First Road System; Legislation of 1820; Road Building in that Decade; Wretched Character of the Highways and Difficulties of Early Travel.

[This article on Early Thoroughfares, originally prepared for State Geologist, W. S. Blatchley, to form a chapter in the thirtieth annual geological report, is here reprinted as the first of a series that will deal with the principal internal improvement works that have developed within the State. The plan, as at present conceived, will take up besides this theme, road improvements, canals and railroads.—*Editor.*]

THE first thoroughfares of Indiana, while somewhat remote, perhaps, from present interests, have yet some relation to the after history of the State, besides possessing a certain historic interest of their own. Of these primitive ways for travel and transportation the earliest, long antedating the white man's advent, were the Indian trails—narrow, winding routes beaten by many feet traveling in single file, and akin to the paths made by animals. It should be noted, however, that there was one radical distinction between them and the animal paths, for while the latter had the feeding grounds for their termini, the former, primarily, conducted from abiding place to abiding place. In other words, the human propensity for intercommunication as distinguished from mere gregariousness was revealed by those obscure forest highways, and by virtue of that they were something other than mere random ways—they were a system.

If this system could be restored in a chart we would be surprised, no doubt, to find what a network it formed, reaching over the country in various directions. No such restoration would be possible now, however, for, though there are many allusions to them in our local histories, what information we have about these old trails is scattered, meager and indefinite. About all we know is that the various tribes and bands of Indians occupied each their own territory, usually along the valleys of the principal rivers, and that they visited to and fro more or less for the purposes of counsel or other reasons. Between the tribes of this

“Chase the squirrel, if you please,
Chase the squirrel, if you please,
Chase the squirrel, if you please,
And catch your love so handy.

“A little faster, if you please,
A little faster, if you please,
A little faster, if you please,
And catch your love so handy.”

The song waxed “a little faster” each time, until the consummation. Another, into which the preceding could easily glide, was:

“Oh, yonder comes my sweetheart, and how do you do?
And how have you been since I last saw you?
The war is all over, and peace is in the land;
Can't you wish us joy by the raising of your hands?”

The two lines of players, at the last, raised their clasped hands so as to form an arch under which the united couple passed to take their places at the upper end. Another we remember, which, little else than a Virginia reel with a vocal accompaniment, ran:

“Do ce do, to your best liking,
Do ce do, to your best liking,
Do ce do, to your best liking,
And swing your love so handy!”

It is somewhat remarkable that in our many local histories there is little or no mention of these games that have been so prominent in the early social life of the State, and, as suggested above, there is an unworked field here for the student of early customs.

region little hostility is recorded, and there seems to have been considerable friendly intercourse and formal visiting among them. Following the rivers from town to town, and across from valley to valley, their paths can be traced. It is likely that the Miami town of Ke-ki-on-ga, where Ft. Wayne now stands, was, from its important command of the Wabash portage, the converging point of many trails, for Little Turtle, in his speech before Anthony Wayne at the treaty of Greenville, refers to the place as "that glorious gate through which all the good words of our chiefs had to pass, from the north to the south, and from the east to the west."

At the junction of Fall creek and White river, also, several paths seem to have met, by reason, it is said, of a good ford across the river that existed there. Such at least has been affirmed by the late J. H. B. Nowland, a very early pioneer of Indianapolis, who has told the writer definitely of several trails—one from Vincennes, one from the falls of the Ohio, one from the Whitewater, and others from the upper Delaware towns on White river and the Pottawattamie and Miami towns on the Wabash, all of which converged at this point. The one westward from the Whitewater valley ran about where the Pennsylvania railroad now has its right-of-way and that from the Ohio falls paralleled the present Jeffersonville railroad. The latter route was, seemingly, traveled by all the Pottawattamies, Miamis and Delawares of the upper Wabash and White rivers in their excursions to the Kentucky hunting grounds, as, after crossing the above-mentioned ford, it sent off branches to the towns of those tribes.

The Indian pathmaker not infrequently marked the way for the white man's thoroughfares, and his work was thus perpetuated in the civilization of his successors. Out of his thorough knowledge of the topography of the country he found out the best routes, not only for his kind of traveling, but for the kind of traveling that was to come after. When James Blake and William Conner viewed, as commissioners, the first road between Indianapolis and Ft. Wayne, they found after leaving White river that they could not improve upon the judgment of the Indians as shown in their old trace.

One of the earliest wagon-ways out of Indianapolis, the old Centerville road, which led to Wayne county before the coming of the National Road, was laid out on the Whitewater trail above referred to, just south of the Pennsylvania tracks, and mention may be found here and there of other roads that were similarly determined. Moreover, the earliest pioneers were benefited directly by these aboriginal trails, for not only did they first follow them from one place to another through the otherwise trackless wilderness in search of desirable regions, but their rude "traces" for subsequent ingress and egress were frequently but their improvement on the red man's too-narrow footpath. Perhaps it is not venturing too much to say that they were at times an influence in the locating of white settlements. For instance, the first settlers on the spot where Indianapolis now stands were, if tradition is to be trusted, led hither by the Whitewater trail. When the commissioners appointed by the legislature came to locate the capital, the presence of the squatters at the mouth of Fall creek was undoubtedly a factor in determining the choice of that spot; and so it might not be considering too curiously to reason out a relation between this obscure path through the forest primeval and the exact locating of the State's capital with all that that implies.

Before anything like permanent roads could be established a considerable population of settlers had taken up lands in the interior of the State, and there had to be makeshift thoroughfares not only for guidance to various localities, but for the transportation of the immigrant's possessions. These traces, as they were called, were the rudest of forest roads, cleared away sufficiently to permit the passage of the mover's wagons, and marked along the route by "blazing" or marking the trees with an axe.* These traces from east and south, with their various branches leading to this or that settlement, were well known to the immigrants in their day, but, like the Indian trails, they are long since obliterated, and, for the most part, only vague allusions to them are to be found in local histories. Of at least two of them, however, some record has been preserved, and these are of special interest because they were the trunk lines, so to speak, over

*A road running southward from Indianapolis, called to the present day the "Three Notch Road," took its name from the three distinguishing ax marks.

which the first waves of immigration found their way in to people the central portion of the State. They were known respectively as the Berry and Whetzel traces.

The Berry trace, marked out by a Captain John Berry, or, as Judge Banta gives it, Richard Berry, joined and followed the Ohio Falls Indian trail above mentioned, which crossed White river at Fall creek. It was the chief line of travel from the south. The best account of this route is given by Mr. Nowland in describing the journey of his family to Indianapolis from Kentucky in 1820. According to him it began at Napoleon, Ripley county (south of that being settled country), and thence ran almost west to a point on Flatrock river about nine miles north of where Columbus now stands. At the end of this stage of perhaps thirty miles stood the first house after leaving Napoleon. Then the trace turned north to follow the said Indian trail, and this, with two or three more cabins on the way, brought them to the embryo capital. Further information concerning the pioneer whose name has been perpetuated by his old trace the present writer has been unable to glean.

What was known as the Whetzel trace was made in 1818 by Jacob Whetzel, one of the four brothers famous in the annals of Indian warfare. It afforded ingress from the already settled Whitewater region on the east, and is also described by Mr. Nowland. It began, he tells us, in Franklin county, somewhere near where Laurel now stands, ran west till it struck the Flatrock river seven miles below the site of Rushville, thence to the Blue river where Marion and Shelby counties join, thence west to the bluffs of White river. This was the most notable of all these early traces, for by it, we are told, hundreds of immigrants came to settle Shelby, Morgan, Johnson and Marion counties. Those bound for the new capital followed it till it reached the Berry trace, then turned north on the latter, and many of the first families of Indianapolis were beholden to the sturdy old Indian fighter for his unrequited service, which, indeed, he had performed at no small cost to himself. He and his son Cyrus, with the help of four good axemen, cleared the way for "a width sufficient to admit the passage of a team," as Judge Banta tells us, through vast stretches of tangled forest and swamp lands where of nights they had to build up brush piles to sleep on.

In 1825 a petition, presented to the legislature by William Conner in behalf of Jacob Whetzel, prayed compensation for the cutting of this road, the eastern terminus being there designated as "Summerset." Said petition, along with various others, was referred to a committee on roads, which reported back that, "in the opinion of the committee, it would be inexpedient to legislate on any of the aforesaid petitions." (See House Journal, 1825, pp. 89 and 170.)

At the intersection of the Whetzel and Berry traces (about two miles southwest of Greenwood, in Johnson county), a man named Daniel Loper "squatted" and offered entertainment, after a fashion, to incoming travelers. Before long, however, a fellow named Nathan Bell ousted Loper by falsely representing himself as the legal purchaser of the land, and next took possession of the desirable point, where for a good while he kept a disreputable sort of a place, surrounded by "his clan of adherents, generally bold, bad men," the history of which place and clan would, according to Judge Franklin Hardin, a reminiscence of Johnson county, "make a large volume." Loper moved along the trace some miles farther east, and, still bent on "entertaining," pitched his shanty on Hurricane creek, where was the first good water and the first good camping place after coming out of the swamps. He stayed there a couple of years, then went none know whither, but his pole cabin, long known as Loper's, continued to be a favorite halting place for incoming travelers, the dilapidated hut being facetiously dubbed the "Emigrant's Hotel." Judge Hardin describes the place as several acres trodden over by men and animals, with many inclosures of poles and brush put up by sojourners to keep their stock from wandering.

By 1826 Whetzel's trace was no longer used, at least at the west end, being impeded with fallen trees. By this time, too, many State roads were being opened into the interior, and the need for the first traces ceased to exist. Not having a legalized right-of-way it was in time, of course, taken up by private owners as the land was entered, and so long since lost the last evidence of its identity.

It was not until four years after Indiana had been admitted as a State that any definite system of roads was projected within her

borders. Prior to that general laws had been framed touching the opening of highways, for with the first tides of immigration, of course, came the question of intercommunication; but they provided only for the opening of local roads on petition. In those first years there was little pressing need for other than local roads, for Indiana was, for the most part, strung along the Ohio and Wabash rivers, which were the generally used, natural highways. Versailles, Vernon and Brownstown, but a few miles back from the Ohio, were, until 1820, on the extreme frontier, the vast country on the north and west of them being an unbroken wilderness, and the principal centers were contiguous to one or the other of the two rivers named.

In 1820, however, there arose new reasons for extensive road-making. The great tract known as the "New Purchase," comprising all the central portion of the State and as far north as the upper Wabash, was thrown open to settlers in that year. Somewhere in the heart of this territory the seat of government was to be located at once and it was obvious that the capital and the settlers who would people the newly acquired tract must have some way of reaching the older parts of the country and the world's markets. This would seem to be the rational explanation of the sudden legislation on State roads that appears in the statutes at this time. In 1820 not less than twenty-six roads were projected, and as many sets of commissioners appointed to view the lands and mark out the routes. The roads not only connected the older towns of the State, but extended into the interior. Five were to lead to the proposed capital, and one was from Lawrenceburg to Winchester, this latter being by a subsequent act extended to Fort Wayne. During the next ten years there was repeated and lengthy legislature on this subject of State roads, showing the paramount importance of highways in the early days of the new commonwealth. Many other roads were added to the original system, some were relocated, and there were various modifications. In the main, however, the first ideas were carried out, and on a road map of 1835, now existing, at least two-thirds of the State is pretty well criss-crossed with highways other than the local or country roads.

The revenue and labor for the opening and maintaining of these roads were derived from three distinct sources. The first was known as the three per cent. fund, and was a donation from

the general government. Out of the sale of public lands five per cent. was set aside for purposes of internal improvement. Of this, two per cent. was to be expended by the United States on works of general benefit—such, for example, as the National Road—and the remaining three per cent. was given to the State for improvements within her borders. Into this fund there was paid, altogether, the sum of \$575,547.75.* A special agent was appointed for disbursing the fund, and his duties were defined at length.

Another internal revenue was derived from a "road tax" levied upon real estate. Farm lands were assessed "an amount equal to half the amount of State tax," and town lots "an amount equal to half the county tax." Non-resident land-owners were assessed an amount equal to both half the State and half the county tax. Such road tax the land-owner was entitled to discharge in work on the roads (see Acts of 1825).

The third source of maintenance was a labor requirement, which made it incumbent on all male inhabitants between the ages of twenty-one and fifty, except preachers and certain other exempts, to work on the roads two days in each year, when called out, or pay an equivalent thereof. In the New Purchase, where the labor necessary was still greater than farther south, the demand was for four days each year, but this provision was repealed in 1827.

But establishing roads by legislative enactment was only a first and very inadequate step toward easy travel and transportation. Moreover, it was not altogether a satisfactory first step, for then, as now, there was much log-rolling, self-seeking and lack of economy in public works, and in Governor Ray's message of 1825 the question was raised as to whether the large expenditures "have answered the expectations of the public"—whether they had not been used extravagantly in the employment of too many commissioners, in the opening of useless roads, and in suffering roads to become useless by a second growth and the failure to keep in repair. Aside from this, after the highways were cut out and the labor of the population expended upon them, they were hardly more practicable than the drift-choked streams which were fondly regarded as navigable.

Of the atrocious character of those early highways much has

*Elbert Jay Benton, in "The Wabash Trade Route," p. 41.

been said, and yet the subject, seemingly, has never been given justice. From the hills of the southern counties to the prairies beyond the Wabash, the State was, for the most part, a level plain covered with a forest that shut out the sun from the rank mold, and this, like a sponge, held the accumulated waters. Vast areas were nothing but swamps, which the streams never fully drained.* Most of the year a journey over the roads was simply a slow, laborious wallowing through mud; the bogs were passable only by the use of "corduroy," and this corduroy of poles laid side by side for miles not infrequently had to be weighted down with dirt to prevent floating off when the swamp waters rose. In a book called "The New Purchase," which purports to depict life in central Indiana in the early twenties, the wagon trip to Bloomington is described in the author's peculiar, half-intelligible style. He speaks of the country as "buttermilk land," "mash land," "rooty and snaggy land," with mudholes and quicksands and corduroys, "woven single and double twill," and there are fords with and without bottom." In the early spring, he says, the streams were brim full, "creeks turned to rivers, rivers to lakes, and lakes to bigger ones, and traveling by land becomes traveling by mud and water." As one proceeded he must tack to right and left, not to find the road, but to get out of it and find places where the mud was "thick enough to bear." The way was a "most ill-looking, dark-colored morass, enlivened by streams of purer mud (the roads) crossing at right angles," and these streams were "thick-set with stumps cut just low enough for wagons to straddle." Innumerable stubs of saplings, sharpened like spears by being shorn off obliquely, waited to impale the unlucky traveler who might be pitched out upon them, and the probability of such accident was considerable as the lumbering wagon plunged over a succession of ruts and roots, describing an "exhilarating seesaw with the most astonishing alternation of plunge, creak and splash." Ever and anon the brimming streams had to be cross-

*Mr. William Butler, a pioneer of Southern Indiana, has told the present writer of a trip he made to Indianapolis in the thirties. He stopped over night with a settler in Johnson county, and, inquiring as to the country east of them, was told that there was no other residence in that direction for thirty miles. "And what's more, there never will be," the informant added, his reason being that the submerged land was irreclaimable. It may be remarked, incidentally, that the swamp in question has long ago been converted into fine farms.

ed, sometimes by unsafe fording and sometimes by rude ferries. In the latter case the ferry-keeper was apt to be off at work somewhere in his clearing, and the traveler had to "halloo the ferry" till he could make himself heard.

This seemingly exaggerated account of the author might be confirmed by many references, but three or four brief anecdotes which the writer has gleaned at first hand from pioneers will do. The first of these, told by the late J. H. B. Nowland, of Indianapolis, is that once, when on his way by stage from Madison to Indianapolis, he was upset in the middle of a swollen stream, and in the effort to save his life he lost his coat, which, with thirty or forty dollars in the pocket, was swept away. Another is that of Mr. George W. Julian, who, when a child, traveled by wagon from the Wea plains on the Wabash to Wayne county. Crossing a stream, the water proved unexpectedly deep and the bank so precipitous that the horses lost their footing and were forced entirely under the flood by the descending wagon. Similar to this was an experience of Mr. William Shimer, of Irvington. When his family moved to Marion county they entered a stream by a descent so steep that a great feather-bed stowed in the front of the wagon rolled out and covered the driver. Mr. Nowland also relates in his book of reminiscences that a migratory wag once wrote these lines in the register-book of a Franklin tavern:

"The roads are impassable—hardly jackassable;
I think those that travel 'em should turn out and gravel 'em.

Such were the early thoroughfares of Indiana, and these, with the exception of an uncertain outlet by the larger streams, were the only means of travel and transportation for the greater part of the State with its growing population. That the character of the thoroughfares impeded growth, handicapped commerce and held in check the influences that are essential to development is very obvious to the student of that development within our borders. The difficulties that were overcome and the building up of the commonwealth in spite of such handicap is an evidence of the sturdiness of the stock that peopled the State.

GEO. S. COTTMAN.

[Next number, the *National and Michigan Roads, and Road Improvements.*]

Bridgeport Readers—Please give a short history of the National road, especially in Indiana.—George Washington is generally credited with being the first to see that if advantage was to be taken of the George Rogers Clark conquest of western Indiana, we should have taken it at the time of the

INDIANA MAGAZINE OF HISTORY

INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS IN INDIANA.

No. II—THE NATIONAL ROAD.

BY SMILEY N. CHAMBERS.

[This paper was read before the Indiana Centennial Association, at Indianapolis, July 4, 1900. It is here slightly abridged. The full text may be found in the *Indianapolis Journal* for July 15, 1900.]

NEED OF A GREAT HIGHWAY.

Our fathers, endowed with wisdom, courage and foresight, possessing a broad, though by no means adequate, prophecy of the future development of the country, early saw the importance of a public highway connecting the Eastern coast fringe with the broad and undeveloped West. The Eastern coast cities were looking toward the West for increase of commercial business. The mountains quite effectually shut off communications between the sections. But west, between the Blue Ridge and the Mississippi River, even beyond, lay a vast territory covered with splendid forests, a fertile soil, magnificent lakes and splendid rivers—an empire of unoccupied territory; the great Ohio river with its tributaries flowing into the Mississippi, at the mouth of which was situated New Orleans, with its rapidly increasing population. This splendid territory was to be subdued and occupied by the courageous and thrifty pioneer. Indians yet occupied much of it. The entire possession was exposed to invasion from north and south, not to speak of the frequent uprisings of the savages. The protective power of the East was required. It was early impressed upon those having charge of national affairs that military necessity, as well as commercial prosperity, required easy modes of communication between the widely separated sections of the country. The purchase of new territory, extending the limits of our domain, emphasized the necessity of adopting the best means of securing it and utilizing its resources. This was to be a great country. It should be bound together with the strongest possible bonds. Nothing better could be devised than a great public highway, leading from the cities of the East across the mountain ranges,

Another omission of Mr. Parker's is the spelling-school, perhaps the most famous of all the old institutions, and the popularity of which still continues in some districts. The world at large is familiar with Edward Eggleston's description in the "Hoosier Schoolmaster" of a spelling-match. Little perhaps, can be added to that, except that the method of spelling as there given does not correspond exactly to the common method of a later day. There the heads of the classes are pitted against each other and the spelling is confined to them until one misses, when the next in line takes his place. The mode with which we are familiar carries back and forth and down the standing lines from head to foot and back again till the poorer spellers are weeded out and the better following till one side is down. The rivalry and personal ambition and feeling involved in these contests were quite as intense as Mr. Eggleston portrays them, and all participants will recall the excitement and little tremor of dread that always went with the possibility of defeat. No other intellectual practice of our fathers, perhaps, so engendered and fed a desire for neighborhood glory as these trials of orthographic skill, and the cultivation in this direction was quite out of proportion to that of the other branches of the simple country-school curricula. Prompted by the thirst for glory, many a country boy consumed what might be called the midnight tallow at home over his spelling-book with an assiduity that nothing else could have caused. The absolute standard of authority generally recognized was the spelling-book then in use, and any appeal from that to a lexicon where words were spelled more ways than one was considered an unfair subterfuge and was frowned down. The familiarity with the words as arranged in the spelling-book columns was oftentimes amusing, and not infrequently, as we well remember, when the first word was given out and spelled, the following ones were successively tripped off the tongue with a swiftness that left him who pronounced following after, functionless and bewildered, till finally some one failed to remember. The pupils of a school considered the privilege of an occasional spelling bee a vested right, and as a rule the little district schoolhouse was crowded to its limit, not only by the young people who participated but also by their elders, who sat sedately by witnessing with parental pride the performances of their offspring.

first to the navigable waters of the Ohio, where water communication could be had with the South, and, second, on to the Mississippi river, where a small settlement already was established. In our day of great railroad systems, telegraph lines and steamboat navigation, this does not seem to be much of an enterprise, but to our fathers, with but a few million people behind them, with a treasury of limited means, it was an undertaking of magnificent proportions and lofty patriotism. It early enlisted the earnest attention and interest of the foremost men of the Nation.

PRELIMINARY STEPS.

As early as 1797 a resolution was introduced upon the subject, but nothing more was done at that time. By an act of Congress April 30, 1802, the people of Ohio were enabled to form a constitutional government. It was therein provided that 2 per cent. of the proceeds of the sales of public lands within her limits should be held and applied in the construction of a public highway leading from some point on the coast to a point within her borders. A like provision was made in the act admitting Indiana into the Union, reserving 2 per cent. of the proceeds of her public lands for similar purpose. The effect of these provisions never dawned upon the minds of those enacting the laws. Nevertheless they were very important and far-reaching, as will be seen later on. They may almost be said to have been providentially inserted, for, trivial as they seemed, they became the lever which the advocates of larger expenditures for internal improvements used in advocacy of the doctrine of implied power in the government under the Constitution for the appropriation of public moneys, and the doing by the government of many things, the power to do which was denied by some of the ablest men of the time. The Cumberland, or, as it is more properly known in this section, the National Road, was frequently the subject of acrimonious debate by the ablest men in Congress. It was the occasion of an able message from President Monroe, and, in connection with the Chesapeake and Ohio canal, entered largely into the campaign of 1824, and became an object of universal discussion East and West.

An act was approved March 29, 1806 (the first congressional action taken), to regulate the laying out and making a road

from Cumberland in the State of Maryland, the head waters of the Potomac, to the State of Ohio. The President was authorized to appoint three discreet and disinterested citizens of the United States to lay out a road from Cumberland, or a point on the northern bank of the River Potomac in the State of Maryland between there and the place where the main road leading from Givins to Winchester in Virginia crosses the river, to the State of Ohio, whose duty it shall be, as soon as may be after their appointment, to repair to Cumberland aforesaid and view the grounds from the points on the River Potomac hereinbefore designated to the River there, and to lay out in such direction as they shall judge under all the circumstances the most proper, a road from thence to the Ohio river, to strike the same at the most convenient place between a point on its eastern bank opposite to the northern boundary of Steubenville in said State of Ohio and the mouth of Grave creek, which empties into the said river a little below Wheeling, Va. It should be four rods wide and designated on each side by marks on trees or by stakes at every quarter mile. The commission should report to the President, who might accept or reject in whole or in part the report. If he should accept, he should pursue such measures as in his opinion should be proper to obtain consent for making the road of the State or States through which the same was laid out.

The act further provides: "In case the trees are standing they shall be cleared the whole width of four rods (sixty-five feet) and the road shall be raised in the middle of the carriage way with stone, earth or gravel and sand, or a combination of some or all of them, leaving or making, as the case may be, a ditch or water course on each side and contiguous to said carriage way, and in no instance should there be an elevation in said road when finished greater than an angle of 5 degrees with the horizon. But the manner of making said road, in every other particular, is left to the direction of the President" (a rather grave responsibility). Thirty thousand dollars was appropriated "to defray the expense of laying and making roads to the State of Ohio by virtue of the act of 1802." There was no provision in this act for the exercise of the right of eminent domain. There seems to have been no necessity for such pro-

vision, for we learn from the report of the commissioners that everybody wanted the road to come his way. But one man refused to join the government in the appointment of appraisers. He three times petitioned Congress for relief, but each committee to which his petition was referred reported against him, and finally he appealed to his own State, Virginia, but his petition was ignored.

PROGRESS REPORTED.

December 30, 1806, this commission made a report of progress, premising the report with the statement that "the duties imposed by law become of greater magnitude and a task much more arduous than was conceived before entering upon it." They had employed "a surveyor of professional merit" (sic), "two chain-carriers, a marker, one vaneman, a pack-horse man and a horse," the latter being described as indispensable and really beneficial in accelerating the work. They had examined a space "comprehending two thousand square miles, a task rendered still more incumbent by the solicitude and importunities of the inhabitants of every part of the district, who severally conceived their grounds entitled to preference."

The highest consideration governing the commission was, first, shortness of distance between navigable points on the eastern and western waters; second, a point on the Monongahela best calculated to equalize the advantage of this portage in the country within reach of it; third, a point on the Ohio river most capable of combining certainty of navigation with road accommodations, including in the estimate remote points westwardly, as well as present and probable population in the North and South; fourth, best method of diffusing benefits with the least distance of road.

The President had evidently been successful in selecting discreet and disinterested citizens. They seem to have done their work diligently and with an eye single to their duties under the law. They fixed the starting point at Cumberland, "a decision founded on propriety and in some measure on necessity." It ended at a point below the mouth of Wheelen's creek and the lower part of Wheelen's island. The route was twenty-four and a half miles in Maryland, seventy-five and a half miles

in Pennsylvania and twelve miles in Virginia. There was much contention between Brownsville and Uniontown, Pa., for the road, but the latter secured the prize. The commissioners were looking to further extensions of the road, for they say in locating the road through Brownsville it was seen that Wheeling lay in a line from Uniontown to the center of the State of Ohio and Post Vincennes. The latter was then territorial capital, the home of General Harrison, and swelling with prospects of future greatness. In this same year Vincennes University was liberally endowed with lands by Congress, and the progressive citizens of the post that year formed a library association which in a few years accumulated a library of most excellent books, which now are the property of the university. Attention throughout the country was much attracted toward this point. Jefferson in his message to Congress conveying the report refers to this suggestion of conveying the road through Vincennes as passing through "a very interesting section of the country."

The commissioners estimated the expense of the construction of the road at \$6,000 per mile, and this conclusion was reached by recurring to the experience of Pennsylvania and Maryland in the business of artificial roads. As to the policy of increasing this expense, it is not, they say, the province of these commissioners to declare, but they can not, however, withhold assurances of a firm belief that the purse of the Nation can not be more seasonably opened or more happily applied than in promoting the speedy and effectual establishment of a great and necessary road in the way contemplated.

JEFFERSON'S ACTION.

In January, 1807, Mr. Jefferson, in a message to Congress, transmitted the report of these commissioners. He says: "On receipt of the report I took measures to obtain consent for making the road of the States of Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia, through which the commissioners proposed to lay it out. I have received acts of the legislatures of Maryland and Virginia giving the consent desired. That of Pennsylvania has the subject still under consideration, as is supposed. Until I have received consent to a free choice of route through the whole distance I have thought it safest neither to accept nor reject

finally the partial report of the commissioners. Some matters suggested in the report belong exclusively to the legislature." In February, 1808, Mr. Jefferson reported that he had received the consent of Pennsylvania and had consequently approved the route proposed to Uniontown, and then continues:

"From thence the course to the Ohio and the point within the legal limits at which it shall strike the river is still to be decided. In forming this decision I shall pay material regard to the interests and wishes of the populous parts of the State of Ohio and to a future and convenient connection with the road which is to lead from the Indiana boundary near Cincinnati by Vincennes to the Mississippi at St. Louis, under authority of the act of the 21st of April, 1806. In this way we may accomplish a continued and advantageous line of communication from the seat of the general government to St. Louis, passing through several very interesting parts of the Western country."

The government was gradually being committed to a general system of internal improvements. Much criticism was made of Jefferson. His course was justified upon the proposition that the government was pledged to the construction of this road by the reservation in the act admitting Ohio into the Union at 2 per cent. of the proceeds of sales of public lands within its limits. But in the above suggestion Mr. Jefferson was running ahead of this proposition, for as yet no provision as to Indiana and Illinois public lands had been made.

Nevertheless, this road to Wheeling was constructed and became a great thoroughfare. Mr. Mitchell, of Maryland, in 1823, in a report on the practicability of connecting the Susquehanna with the Ohio, says: "It has been estimated that in the year 1823 there were, on an average, 2,555 wagoners employed in the transportation of merchandise from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh alone; that they carried 89,425 hundred-weight, which was valued at \$17,885,000. From Baltimore, in the same year, merchandise to the value of \$12,000,000 was transported over this highway."

The West was growing rapidly in population and political power. In 1816 Indiana was admitted to the Union, and 2 per cent. of the proceeds of the sales was reserved for the construction of this road. Illinois was rapidly increasing in population,

while the great territory west of the Mississippi was opening up grandly to the vision of the home-seekers. The people were growing impatient for means of intercommunication between them and those of the East. The spirit of internal improvement popularly known as the "American system" was rapidly growing, but the pioneers were poor and the States hardly yet organized. The pressure upon the government for more rapid action was great.

DIFFERENCE OF OPINION.

In the meantime division became more acute among statesmen as to the power of the federal government to collect and expend money in such enterprises. As early as 1815 the somewhat exuberant Madison in a message to Congress refers to the great importance of establishing throughout the country the roads and canals which can be best executed under national authority. "No objects," he says, "within the circle of political economy so richly repay the expense bestowed on them; there are none the utility of which is more universally ascertained and acknowledged; none that do more honor to the government whose wise and enlarged patriotism duly appreciate them. Nor is there any country which presents a field where nature invites more the art of man to contemplate her own work for his accommodation and benefit. These considerations are strengthened, moreover, by the political effect of these facilities for intercommunication in bringing and binding more closely together the various parts of our extended confederacy. While the States individually, with a laudable enterprise and emulation, avail themselves of their local advantages by new roads, by navigable canals and by improving the streams susceptible of navigation, the general government is the better adapted to similar undertakings requiring a national jurisdiction and national means, by the prospect of thus systematically completing so inestimable a work; and it is a happy reflection that any defect of constitutional authority which may be encountered can be supplied in a mode which the Constitution itself has providently pointed out."

This latter suggestion evidently meant an amendment to the Constitution. A resolution was introduced in Congress looking

to that result, but was voted down by those who believed that the implied powers under the Constitution were sufficiently broad to warrant such expenditures. The West was unwilling to wait the slow method of constitutional amendment.

The thirteen States which had entered into the League of Confederation occupied territorial possessions upon the Atlantic stretched out upon a coast line greater in length than fifteen degrees of latitude. Each desired a commerce of its own upon the ocean, and such methods of developing its internal resources as were dictated by the varieties of soil and climate, and by the habits and customs of the inhabitants.

It is strange to us that there was no national effort to construct a great highway along the coast, connecting the great cities along it, uniting New England and the South. The failure can be accounted for only upon the theory that each State was jealous of its own possessions, of its own development. State pride, or, as we term it, State rights, diverted the national energies in the directions of those regions the trade and commerce of which were open to all, where to subdue the Indians and to open up new territories for a rapidly accumulating population might be found a common ground of action. Thus along the line of the National Road, over the mountains into the vast and virgin forests of Ohio, Indiana and Kentucky, the star of empire took its course. Even here there were encountered difficulties arising from the necessity for passing through the States of Maryland, Virginia and Pennsylvania. Special acts of consent by these States were required to permit the location and construction of the road. As we have already seen, Mr. Jefferson refused to proceed to any steps until these acts had been passed.

A PERPLEXING QUESTION.

The more perplexing question in the way of completing the enterprise was, had Congress the power to appropriate the public money for carrying on a general system of internal improvements? This question had been growing in importance for a number of years. It entered into political discussions and divided the people. Both Jefferson and Monroe had used public funds in the acquisition of territory, Jefferson in the purchase

of Louisiana Territory from France, and Monroe of Florida from Spain. Both purchases were opposed by many able men upon constitutional grounds. So that when Congress, in 1822, passed an act authorizing the expenditure of further public funds for the further extension of the Cumberland or National Road, the act was met by a veto from Mr. Monroe. Mr. Monroe had belonged to the school of strict constructionists. He was opposed to the rule followed by Washington, with the support of Hamilton, "That congressional power was not limited by the express grants of the Constitution, but that it included such implied powers as were necessary to execute the express powers." He was more inclined to follow the "strict construction" theory of Jefferson and Madison. "His veto message," says Colonel Thompson, "was the longest and most labored ever sent to Congress, and subjected him to severe criticism, especially in the West, where the sentiment in favor of the road was very strong. He was charged with inconsistency in using public funds for the purchase of Florida, as Jefferson had in the purchase of Louisiana, and yet was willing so to restrict the powers of the government in regard to internal improvements that the country should be left dependent upon the State alone, without any aid whatever from the general government." Colonel Thompson adds: "The new States interested in the Cumberland road were occupied by an industrious population, engaged in clearing away the forests, in order to make their lands more productive and profitable, and were consequently not in condition to be taxed by the States, even for improvements absolutely necessary for local purposes. They reasoned that if the national government possessed the power to acquire foreign territory, or to exercise ownership over the public domain within the States, it must necessarily and logically possess also the incidental power to make interstate improvements, in order thereby to induce emigration from the old to the new States, to increase the value and sales of the public lands, and to add to the general prosperity."

It is to be said to the credit of Mr. Monroe that he modified his views, and even in his veto message he says: "It is contended on the one side that as the national government is a government of limited powers, it has no right to expend money

except in the performance of acts authorized by the other specific grants, according to a strict construction of their powers; that this grant, in neither of its branches, gives to Congress discretionary power of any kind, but it is a mere instrument in its hands to carry into effect the powers contained in the other grants. To this construction I was inclined in the more early stage of our government, but on further reflection and observation my mind has undergone a change."

Even thus early we find that the national development and extension of population, with new necessities, were effecting in the minds of new statesmen a change of views as to the powers conferred by the Constitution. We can but wonder how the face of things would be changed had the trend of thought in the direction of limiting the powers of the government to those expressly conferred prevailed, when we recall the vast sums expended in various ways for the extension of commerce, the building of canals, improvement of rivers and harbors, irrigating waste lands and the construction of vast railways. What an economy the other view would have brought to the people; but with what inconvenience and obstruction to development of the country can not be described.

MONROE'S VETO.

I make bold to copy one paragraph from this veto message of Mr. Monroe. While we have great respect for the ability and patriotism of our early statesmen, from our position of vast acquirements and splendid facilities for transportation we are somewhat amused at the arguments used by them and the illustrations with which they were illuminated. He is speaking of the constitutional provision for establishing post-offices and post roads, and says:

"The object is the transportation of the mail throughout the United States, which may be done on horseback, and was so done until lately. Between the great towns and other places where the population is dense, stages are preferred because they afford an additional opportunity to make profit from passengers; but where the population is sparse, and on crossroads, it is generally carried on horseback, unconnected with passengers and other objects. It can not be doubted that the mail itself

may be carried in every part of our Union with nearly as much economy and greater dispatch on horseback than in a stage, and in many parts with much greater. In every part of the country in which stages can be preferred the roads are sufficiently good, provided those which serve for every other purpose will accommodate them. In every other part where horses alone are used, if other people pass them on horseback, surely the mail carriers can. For an object so simple and so easy in its execution it would doubtless excite surprise if it should be thought proper to appoint commissioners to lay off the country in a great scheme of improvement, with the power to shorten distances, reduce heights, level mountains and pave surfaces."

In view of our great expenditures and the splendid facilities for distributing the mail now enjoyed, this carries a high flavor of humor. Yet it is part of one of the ablest messages ever sent to Congress by a President of the United States. The question of the power of the government to make internal improvements became the dividing line between political parties, and the presidential campaign of 1824 was fought out upon it, the Cumberland road and the Chesapeake & Ohio canal being most under discussion. It appeared in the courts, and the great doctrine of the implied power of Congress, under the Constitution, to make enactments and expenditures of public funds for which there was no express authority in its provisions was finally judicially declared by Chief Justice John Marshall, in the case of *McCulloch vs. The State of Maryland*, in which it was decided that the State of Maryland could not tax the shares of the stock in the United States Bank because it was prohibited from doing so by the act establishing the bank.

THE QUESTION IN CONGRESS.

There was scarcely a session of Congress from 1815 to 1846 in which the Cumberland road was not under discussion. It was always asking appropriations for surveys, construction and repairs. Every inch of it was fought over time and again. It was the subject of ridicule as well as oratorical flights. The ablest men of any time and country discussed its merits. It was spoken of as this noble monument of our enterprise and industry, this great artery of communication between the East and the

West, so essential to our intercourse and our prosperity. But the spirit of progress and material development usually came out victorious, winning its way against adverse majorities by some hook or crook. Mr. Barbour, of Virginia, who was opposed to the extension of the powers of the federal government beyond the constitutional limits, at one time said: "The only question is, shall we enjoy it or from fastidious technicality refuse it? To appropriate money out of the public treasury to keep it in repair is unjust and involves as strongly the constitutional question. The circumstances of this case being peculiar, this measure can not be considered as a precedent in reference to the general question." So he voted for the bill, as did others, and it passed. Whether the fact that Virginia by a legislative act had authorized the government to complete, establish and regulate this road as to them might seem proper, affected his vote can not now be told. But thus it was that the powers of the general government grew, little by little, local and personal interests often having a large influence, until not only a national road and canals, but a national banking system was finally projected and carried into effect; and the foundations of the great American Republic were laid firm and deep—a continent in a hundred years has been subdued, unprecented progress and development followed. The wonder of all generations is now the great American people.

John C. Calhoun, then secretary of war, communicated to the House of Representatives a very lengthy letter on roads and canals, "With a View to Military Operations in Times of War." In it he says: "A judicious system of roads and canals constructed for the convenience of commerce and the transportation of the mail only, without any reference to military operations, is of itself among the most efficient means for the more complete defense of the United States. Such a system, by consolidating our Union, increasing our wealth and fiscal capacity, would add greatly to our resources of war." He then suggests a vast system of roads to be laid out and constructed under the supervision of the Department of War, and that the engineers of the army be used in surveying and the soldiers be utilized in constructing them. This suggestion was not followed. Mr. Hemphill says: "It is curious to witness the alarm which is occasionally excited

concerning the exercise of constructive powers when Congress is never in session a week without acting upon them. We have only to look at the statute books for instances, as the law relating to fugitives who are held to labor in any of the slave States, the laws regulating the carrying of mail, the Bank of the United States, the Military Academy, light houses, post houses and trading houses among the Indians; all are creations of constitutional powers. So are the laws relating to revenue cutters, the navy hospital, pension and gratuitous grants of money, and in the same class may be placed laws concerning vaccination and for the civilization of the vine. Yes, Mr. Chairman, we not only make laws which are the mere offspring of constructive powers, but we enforce them by high penalties and the infliction of punishment of death."

SECTIONAL FEELING.

It was proposed by a bill in 1817 to use the dividends from the shares in the bank of the United States for twenty years, which was the period of the charter, in the further extension and repair of the Cumberland road. It passed both Houses, but was vetoed by President Madison.

The feeling between the West and the East at times grew very intense on this subject. In 1827, when the question was before the House upon appropriating sufficient funds for continuing the work, Mr. Johnson, of Kentucky, said: "I am sorry to perceive that the people of the West were obliged to contend, inch by inch, for every inch of ground they obtained in this road. For twenty years they had been begging for little by little, and now, after the completion of the Cumberland road had been settled as a principle, they were opposed by the same opposition as had been made at first. The Western members were never backward in voting for fortifications and other improvements on the seaboard, and it was a hardship; the objects for the good of the Western States were uniformly opposed." (Congressional Debates, Volume 3.)

In the same debate Mr. Noble, of Indiana, said, speaking at "considerable length": "The provision in the act of 1821 was inserted for the same reason that the 2 per cent. was filched from the Western States to make the road through Pennsylvania

and Virginia to Ohio. The gentleman from Pennsylvania was very willing that the work should stop, because the road through his own State was finished. The United States had taken the money and had undertaken to build the road, and now the benefits were withheld from the Western States because they were not sufficiently strong to enforce their rights, but (in a defiant mood) they would hereafter be able to claim them, and their fathers of the old States would be forced to yield them justice." He wished to know what authority the United States had to take the money of the States of the West and expend it to construct roads through two States, while the people in the forests were left to struggle through the swamps and morasses, yet whenever any relief was asked by the West they were met with constitutional scruples and difficulties.

The motion to strike out the appropriation was rejected and the West was victorious; \$30,000 was appropriated for the repair and maintenance of the road.

December 31, 1827, Mr. Noble introduced a bill for a continuation of the Cumberland road, which he prefaced by remarking that under the administration of Jefferson the first bill for the construction of the Cumberland road was passed, when Congress clearly held out to the people of the West that it should be continued. He wanted that pledge redeemed. The bill authorized the completion of the work to Zanesville, O., and provided for a survey to the seat of government of the State of Missouri.

In 1833 a bill was introduced to continue the road from Vandalia to Jefferson City, Mo. An amendment was offered by Mr. Benton to continue it thence to the western frontier of Missouri in the direction of the military post on the Missouri river above the mouth of Kansas (Fort Leavenworth), and to the intersection of the route for the commerce from Missouri to Santa Fe. He considered his amendment as "a link in the chain of the great road from Washington City to Santa Fe, the two ends of which had been either made or marked out by the federal government, and only the link in Missouri remaining to be filled up to complete the longest line of road made by any government since the time of the Roman empire. Benton's amendment was lost and the longest road did not materialize in the bill passed.

END OF THE ROAD.

The road was constructed, in many parts very imperfectly, through Indiana and as far as Vandalia, Ill. It could get no further. It had dragged its slow length along for nearly half a century. It was, however, finally overtaken by the steam railway and then ceased to exist as an object of national concern. This road was under discussion as late as in 1846. Upon this occasion the celebrated Georgian, Mr. Yancey, said:

“When the project of the Cumberland road was first conceived, it was needed as a great highway for the trade and produce of the fertile west to find an outlet on the Atlantic coast. The mountains intervened between the Ohio valley and the Atlantic coast. Steam, not then in such general use as now, had not rendered the upper Ohio navigable; railroads had not clamped as now with iron bands the trembling earth. The rich produce of the soil found its way to market over rough roads upon the lumbering wagons, and the traveler when jolted over them at the rate of sixty miles a day considered himself as doing a good day’s work. How different now! The broad Ohio is navigable by hundreds of floating palaces, propelled against its current by fire-breathing engines. The mountains are pierced by railroads and canals. * * * Why, sir, men are behind the times with this old road. The spirit of the age is onward. Thirty miles an hour on land; a thousand miles a minute on Professor Morse’s wires is deemed ordinary speed. On this road, my friend from Indiana (Mr. Owen), informs me that during parts of the year he has been able to make but two miles an hour on horseback.”

In 1848 an act was passed surrendering to the State of Indiana the Cumberland road. Mr. Hannegan, of Indiana, introduced the bill in the Senate. It was accepted by the State. Similar action was taken with reference to those portions in other States, and the “National Road” was no longer a federal institution.

THE ROAD IN INDIANA.

By an act of the General Assembly of Indiana, approved January 16, 1849, the Central Plank Road Company was incorporated. The commissioners named in this act were Nicholas McCarty, William Morrison, William Robson, Jeremiah Johnson and J. F.

Oaks, of Marion county; John Templin, Nathan Crawford and David S. Gooding, of Hancock county; Jesse Hockett, Joseph Lawhead and George Kneigh, of Hendricks county, and William Eaglesfield, David Scott and Gilmore Connelly, of Putnam county. By Section 17 of this act it is provided as follows:

“Section 17. This corporation is hereby empowered to take possession of, occupy and use, for the purpose of constructing a plank road thereon, all that portion of road known as ‘the National Road,’ together with the bridges, timber, stone, gravel or other materials now belonging to said road, lying between the eastern line of the county of Hancock and the western line of the county of Putnam; and all the rights and privileges heretofore belonging to the United States in regard to such part of said National Road, and which have been surrendered to the State of Indiana, be and the same are hereby transferred to and vested in said company for the purposes contemplated in this act; provided, that the president, directors and company of the Terre Haute & Richmond Railroad Company, or any other railroad, shall have the right and power of locating and constructing said railroad across said plank road and of recrossing the same at such points as shall be convenient or necessary, doing no injury to the same more than is absolutely necessary.”

And thus ended the National Road in Indiana.

It had not realized the full importance hoped for it by its early projectors. It did not equal the construction and splendor of the renowned roads of the Roman empire and the Incas. Nevertheless, its history is a proud one. It served a great purpose. Over its rough way there traveled from civilization into a new and unsubdued country the sturdy and courageous pioneer. The extent to which it aided in the development of our great country can never be fully written. It was a noble monument to the courage and lofty patriotism of the fathers of the country.

MATTER RELATING TO NATIONAL ROAD IN INDIANA.

OF works that treat of this great National enterprise as a whole may be mentioned:

“The Old Pike,” by T. B. Searight.

“The Cumberland Road,” by Archer Butler Hulbert. No. 10 of the series: “Historic Highways of America.”

“The Old National Road—a Chapter of Expansion,” by A. B. Hulbert. Monograph, with cuts and maps.

“The Old National Road—the Historic Highway of America,” by A. B. Hulbert. 113 pp. in Vol. IX of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society publications.

The most elaborate account we have of the National Road is in “The Old Pike,” a volume by T. B. Searight. Of its history at the eastern end, with the currents of life that flowed over it there for many years, he makes a most picturesque and readable story, but of that part that ran through Indiana but little is said, and we have, indeed, some difficulty in unearthing information about this section. Searight tells us that the length of the line through Indiana is $149\frac{1}{4}$ miles, on which the general government expended \$513,099 for bridges and masonry; that the road was completed through Wayne county in 1827, and that in 1850 this section of it was surrendered to the Wayne County Turnpike Company. Something like a score of taverns were located within the bounds of Wayne county alone, which may be taken as something of an index to the amount of travel over this road. State Geologist Blatchley, in his annual report for 1905, gives the various appropriations for the work in this State, as follows:

March 2, 1831, \$75,000 for opening, grading, etc., including bridge over White river near Indianapolis, and progressing to the eastern and western boundaries.

July 3, 1832, \$100,000 for continuing the road in Indiana, including bridges over the east and west branches of Whitewater river.

March 2, 1833, \$100,000 to continue the work in Indiana.

June 24, 1834, \$150,000 for continuing the work in Indiana.

March 3, 1835, \$100,000 for continuing the work in Indiana.

July 2, 1836, \$250,000 for continuing the road in Indiana, including the materials for a bridge over the Wabash river, the money to be expended in completing the greatest possible continuous portion of said road, so that said finished part may be surrendered to the State.

March 3, 1837, \$100,000 for continuing the road in Indiana,

May 25, 1838, \$150,000 for continuing the road in Indiana, including bridges.

“About this date,” says Mr. Blatchley, “the panic of 1837-’40 was being felt and no more appropriations were granted. In 1848 the road was turned over to the respective States through which it passed. Of the total amount, \$6,824,919, appropriated by Congress for making, repairing and continuing the road, but \$1,136,600 was allotted to Indiana, and this sum was paid from the fund reserved when the State was admitted to the Union. Of this amount nearly one-half, or \$513,099, was expended for bridges and masonry. * * * In 1850 the Wayne County Turnpike Company was organized and absorbed, under a charter granted by the State, that portion of the road, twenty-two miles in length, within that county. This company then graveled the road and operated it as a toll road until 1890-’94, when it was purchased by the several townships through which it passed and made free from tolls. From Wayne county westward the road passed through Henry, Hancock, Marion, Hendricks, Putnam, Clay and Vigo counties. That portion in Henry county was secured by a private corporation, graveled, and made a toll road about 1853. In 1849 the Central Plank Road Company, composed of prominent citizens of Marion and Hendricks counties, was granted that portion of the road extending from the east line of Hancock county to the west line of Putnam, for the purpose of constructing a plank road. With the granting of it to these several corporations the old National Road as a public institution, fostered by the nation or the State, ceased to be. It had fulfilled its high purpose and was superseded by better things which owed to it their coming.”

George Carey Eggleston, writing recently for the *Youth's Companion*, says:

"The road from Cumberland to Wheeling had cost six thousand dollars a mile, without counting the cost of bridges. From the Ohio forward into the West about three thousand dollars a mile—and much less as the road advanced—sufficed. On the eastern division the road was paved six inches deep in broken stone; every little brook was bridged by a stone culvert, and every mile of the road was drained by two deep ditches, one on each side of it. West of the Ohio the only work done was to clear away the timber, grub up the stumps and dig ditches. There was no thought of a stone coating to the roadway, and no thought of anything else except to open a track over which wagons might be hauled through the mud. Here and there in creek bottom lands the road was corduroyed."

Mr. Benjamin S. Parker, in J. J. Piatt's *Ohio Valley Annual*, "The Hesperian Tree," for 1903, gives this vivid description of travel on the old road "as seen and studied by a little boy in eastern Indiana, in the eighteen-forties":

"From morning till night there was a continual rumble of wheels, and, when the rush was greatest, there was never a minute that wagons were not in sight, and as a rule, one company of wagons was closely followed by another.

* * * * *

"Many families occupied two or more of the big road wagons then in use, with household goods and their implements, while extra horses, colts, cattle, sheep and sometimes hogs were led or driven behind. Thus, when five or ten families were moving in company, the procession of wagons, men, women, children and stock was quite lengthy and imposing. The younger women often drove the teams, while the men and boys walked by turns, to drive and look after the stock; and now and then there would be an old-fashioned carriage, set upon high wheels to go safely over stumps and through streams. The older women and little children occupied these, and went bobbing up and down on the great leather springs which were the fashion sixty years ago.

"But everybody did not travel in that way. Single families, occupying only a single one or two-horse wagon or cart, fre-

quently passed along, seeming as confident and hopeful as the others; while even the resolute family, the members of which carried their worldly possessions upon their backs or pushed them forward in hand-wagons, was not an unfamiliar spectacle to the little boys who watched by the way.

“The wagons, horses and other belongings of the movers were fair indications, not only of their worldly condition and intelligence, but also of the sections from whence they came. The great Pennsylvania wagons, with their elaborately panelled beds, running up high in front and rear, were also used by the better-to-do Virginians and Carolinians, with this difference, that the Pennsylvania wagons were very large and often drawn by four or six fine horses, well matched for size and color, while the Virginians and Carolinians seldom drove more than two horses. A company of these well-to-do movers with their great wagons, large, well-groomed horses in heavy harness, glittering with brass-headed rivets, rings and other ornaments, with bows of melodious bells, either above the points of the hames or upon the heavy backbands, and with great housings of bearskin covering the shoulders and red plumes nodding from the head-gear, was a sight that the small boy put down in his book of memory, never to be forgotten.

“Very different from these were the little Southern carts, drawn by the little, bony Southern horses. It is a matter of tradition that numbers of these little Carolina wagons and carts were wrought of the tough young oak timber that grew upon the old fields of the South, and that the wood was so tenacious of fiber and the vehicles so well constructed by the rural wagon-makers, that they stood up through the journey over the mountains and along the roughest of roads without the aid of so much as an iron nail, and without tires or any kind of metal brace. The feet of the horses or mules that drew them were also guiltless of iron, and the children in the villages and upon the farms were quick to discover the arrival of a new Carolina family by the tracks of the tireless wheels and shoeless horses.

* * * * *

“With the tinkling of the bells, the rumbling of the wheels, the noise of the animals and the chatter of the people as they went forever forward, the little boy who had gone to the road

from his lonesome home in the woods was captivated and carried away into the great active world. But the greatest wonder and delight of all was the stage-coach, radiant in new paint and drawn by its four matched horses in their showy harness, and filled inside and on top with well-dressed people. I think yet that there has never been a more graceful or handsome turnout than one of these fine old stage-coaches drawn by a splendid team of matched horses, and driven by such drivers as used to handle the ribbons between Richmond and Indianapolis. We could hear the driver playing his bugle as he approached the little town, and it all seemed too grand and fine to be other than a dream."

In March, 1906, just one hundred years after the first Congressional action taken on the road, an attempt was made to get through Congress a bill "to authorize the restoration of the Cumberland road by the Government of the United States and providing for its reconstruction and maintenance" (see *Indianapolis News* for March 30, 1906). About the same time (see *News*, March 27), the question was raised between the Hancock county commissioners and the Indianapolis & Eastern Traction Company as to the real ownership of the road at the present day. According to the investigations of William A. Hughes, an attorney of Greenfield, the portion of the highway in that county was transferred first to the State, then to the Central Plank Road Company, then to Barney B. Gray, then to James P. Foley. During the Civil War the road was practically abandoned, and it became a question as to whether the title did not pass to the land-owners on either side of the way. This question, we believe, has never been settled.

MEMORIALS, REPORTS, ETC., RELATING TO THE NATIONAL ROAD IN
INDIANA, TO BE FOUND IN THE FEDERAL PUBLICATIONS,
GIVEN IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER.

1. Report on memorial from Indiana on location of Cumberland road through that State. 3 pp. 1826. Senate Documents, volume 3, number 59.
2. Memorial expressive of the advantages resulting from the Cumberland road and of the desire for its completion. 6 pp. 1828. Senate Docs., v. 4, No. 111.
3. Commissioners for locating National Road. 18 pp. 1828.

Senate Docs., v. 3, No. 99. 4. Memorial in relation to the Cumberland road in the State. 2 pp. 1830. House Reports v. 1, No. 174. 5. On the continuing of the Cumberland road in Ohio and Indiana. 9 pp. 1830. Senate Docs., v. 2, No. 63. 6. Report relative to progress made in the construction and repair of the Cumberland road. 18 pp. 1833. Senate Docs., v. 1, No. 31. 7. Report of agent appointed to inspect the Cumberland road in Indiana. 42 pp. 1834. Senate Docs., v. 2, No. 45. 8. Report on the condition of the Cumberland road in Illinois and Indiana. 10 pp. 1835. Senate Docs., v. 2, No. 19. 9. Report relative to the construction of a bridge over Wabash river at crossing of Cumberland road. 7 pp. 1835. Senate Docs., v. 1, No. 10. 10. Resolution to obtain further appropriations for the Cumberland road in the State. 2 pp. 1836. Senate Docs., v. 2, No. 125. 11. Report of House Committee on change of National Road between Springfield, O., and Richmond Ind. 32 pp. 1836. House Rep'ts, v. 2, No. 367. 12. Report on continuation of Cumberland road in Ohio, Indiana and Illinois. 7 pp. House Rep'ts, v. 3, No. 671. 13. Memorial praying the early completion of the Cumberland road within the States of Ohio, Indiana and Illinois. 2 pp. 1837. Senate Docs., v. 2, No. 119. 14. Memorial of citizens of Indianapolis and vicinity in relation to the Cumberland road (Report on). 6 pp. 1837. House Rep'ts, v. 4, No. 1063. 15. Memorial praying the speedy completion of the Cumberland road within the State. 2 pp. 1838. Senate Docs., v. 3, No. 180. 16. Memorial praying an appropriation for the completion of the Cumberland road within the State. 2 pp. 1840. Senate Docs., v. 6, No. 310 (26-1). 17. Resolution in relation to the completion of Cumberland road. 4 pp. 1841. Senate Docs., v. 4, No. 197. 18. Memorial praying an appropriation for the completion of the National Road in the State. 2 pp. 1842. Senate Docs., v. 2, No. 32. 19. Report on completion of Cumberland road. 35 pp. 1846. House Rep'ts, v. 2, No. 211. 20. Report on completion of Cumberland road. 47 pp. 1848. House Rep'ts, v. 1, No. 99. 21. Resolution relative to the National Road. 1 p. 1848. Senate Misc. Docs., v. 1, No. 111.

All of the above material may be found in the State Library.

THE MICHIGAN ROAD.

THE Michigan road is, in a sense, a monument to the white man's shrewdness in his dealings with the red man. By the Mississinewa treaty of 1826 a goodly portion of northern Indiana was transferred to the United States for a price that would at this day, perhaps, be equivalent to a few city lots, and the following clear gift, specified in Article II of the treaty, was secured by way of good measure. The article reads:

"As an evidence of the attachment which the Pottawattamie tribe feel toward the American people, and particularly to the soil of Indiana, and with a view to demonstrate their liberality and benefit themselves by creating facilities for traveling and increasing the value of their remaining country, the said tribe do hereby cede to the United States a strip of land, connecting at Lake Michigan and running thence to the Wabash river, one hundred feet wide, for a road; and also one section of good land contiguous to said road for each mile of the same and also for each mile of a road from termination thereof, through Indianapolis, to some convenient point on the Ohio river. And the General Assembly of the State of Indiana shall have a right to locate the said road and apply the said sections, or the proceeds thereof, to the making of the same, or any part thereof; and the said road shall be at their sole disposal."

The hand of the beneficiaries would seem to be very plain in this. Why the Pottawattamie Indians should feel an especial attachment to the American people, who were gradually pushing them off the earth, and how they were to be benefited by an inlet, the sole purpose of which was to facilitate the oncoming of the usurpers, and how, by the light of previous land transfers, the value of their remaining country would be enhanced to them, make a series of queries that need not be discussed here. Suffice it to say that from this gift of land the Michigan Road was built, the sales of land about balancing the cost of the road.* The work, begun in 1828, was practically a decade in

*The total expenditure on the road up to 1840, when it ceased to appear in the Auditor's reports, is given as \$242,008.04, and the receipts as \$241,331.89, with several hundreds of acres of land still to be sold.

the building, and during that period occupied a prominent place in the public interest, as revealed by papers of the time and by its frequent recurrence in the Governor's messages and in legislation. Like the National Road, its chief service, besides the local one, was as a route for immigration, and as such it was an important thoroughfare in the peopling of the Wabash valley and the territory beyond, until the coming of the Wabash & Erie Canal, when its usefulness lapsed. This applies particularly to the northern portion of the road. Between Indianapolis and Madison, prior to the establishment of the Madison railroad, it was an important thoroughfare of traffic, affording the principal outlet for the capital.

The general direction of the Michigan Road is as follows: Beginning at Trail Creek, on Lake Michigan, the road runs easterly to the southern bend of the St. Joseph river; thence southward to the Wabash river, which it crosses; thence to Indianapolis; thence southeast to Greensburg; thence south again to Madison.†

ROAD IMPROVEMENTS IN INDIANA.

AS the establishment of roads in the beginning was an absolute necessity to the settlement of the country, so the improvement of those roads, regardless of other systems of transportation, was essential to its welfare. We have already noted the difficulties that attended the original opening of the roads and their limited usefulness when opened. The improvements of the earlier day, despite the funds expended upon them and the unpaid labor of practically the whole male population, amounted to but little toward making the highways travelable except at certain seasons, and consisted almost wholly of cleaning the way, scraping up into the middle dirt that became mud when it got wet, and the laying of "corduroy" or supporting poles across the bottomless places. Even at the present day, with the country open, well-drained and comparatively dry, the ordinary dirt road is a vexatious makeshift, and when the for-

†"The Building of the Michigan Road," by Ethel L. Montgomery, is, we believe, the fullest study of this road that has been published. A long treatise by Mr. R. B. Oglesbee, of Laporte, exists in manuscript form.

est-encumbered land was saturated like a sponge for the larger part of the year, its drawbacks were tenfold. The only really serviceable material that was utilized at all was macadam, or broken stone, but the inaccessibility of this, except in a comparatively few localities, made it wholly impracticable over a major part of the State's area, though certain highways included in the internal improvement scheme were to be built of it.

How seriously road improvement affected public welfare is evidenced by our legislation. From the road law of 1820, which authorized the opening up of an extensive system of thoroughfares, on through the decades, there was scarcely a session but road laws were enacted, adding to, modifying or repealing preceding statutes. It is, perhaps, an added argument against paternalism that no really effective improvement was accomplished until the State's efforts were succeeded by private enterprise. This change was contemporaneous with the introduction of the plank road idea. This innovation appears to have originated in Russia, to have found its way thence into Canada, and from there into parts of the United States lying contiguous to Canada. In a country where timber was not merely abundant, but an actual encumbrance, the conversion of this timber into a solid road as smooth as a floor was a captivating proposition, and the fever caught and spread. In no place was there better reason for its spreading than in Indiana, and accordingly for nearly ten years (through the fifties) we had the plank road era. The promise of immediate returns was, presumably, sufficient to attract capital, and the State very wisely handed over the new movement to the capitalists. From 1848 we find laws authorizing corporations to take possession of the existing roads, to convert them into plank roads, and to erect and maintain toll-houses for revenue along the same. In 1850 one of these companies, organized to build a plank road from New Harmony to Mt. Vernon, in Posey county, sent Robert Dale Owen to western New York to investigate the roads already in operation there, and the result was the publication of a small book containing a mass of information upon the subject.* There were various widths and methods of laying in the construction of

*Owen on "Plank Roads," New Albany, 1850.

these roads, but that recommended by Owen was eight feet wide, formed of planks two and a half to four inches thick laid crosswise on long mud-sills, and well spiked down. The cost of this material he estimated at \$938.08 to \$1,689.60 per mile, according to thickness of planks. The labor item is a party of twelve or fourteen hands with teams for plowing, scraping, rolling, etc., and these should lay from thirty to forty rods per day, at an expense of perhaps \$200 per mile. The approximate total cost of a road built of three-inch white oak planks is given as \$2,000 per mile.

While Owen, with the bias of an advocate, perhaps, figures that a white oak road would do good service for at least twelve years, as a matter of fact those constructed in this State would seem to be much shorter of life. Within ten years the decadence had plainly set in, for a law of 1859 prohibits the collection of tolls on roads that are not kept up, and about this time plank road legislation disappears from the statutes. The difficulty was not only decay, but the warping and working loose of the planks.

In 1858 we find the first statutory mention of gravel roads, and the introduction of this material, presumably about that time, was the beginning of a possible permanent excellence. Why it was not earlier used is not easy to learn, but it is probable that prior to the clearing up of the country, when the drift-choked, forest-environed streams flowed with a fuller volume, gravel bars were at once much less in evidence, and much less accessible than at a later day. Construction with this new material went on under private enterprise, the State became well traversed with toll roads, and the ubiquitous little toll-house, with its long sweep pole, is still fresh in the memories of most of us.

The next turn in legislation was a provision (as early as 1879) for the county control of free turnpikes and the authorization of tax levies for that purpose. Under these laws the improved roads have, one by one, been bought up by the several counties, and the abolishment of the tollgate is becoming general.

NORTHERN INDIANA IN 1829.

From the Indiana Republican (Madison), January 7, 1829.

MR. EDITOR: The writer of this has spent some days of the last month examining the country on the St. Joseph of Lake Michigan, the Wabash and Kankikee. This country, except the Kankikee, is embraced in the purchase made this fall from the Pottawatamies.

We set out from Fort Wayne, a northwesterly direction for the St. Joseph of the Lake. The first twenty miles after leaving the Fort, the country is mostly covered with a heavy forest of timber; but a small portion of the soil is of good quality for farming. After passing Blue-grass creek, we passed a few miles of country, the land of an inferior quality, thinly timbered with oak and hickory, interspersed with a number of small lakes, from which flows to the southwest the head branch of the Tippecanoe river; we then entered the Elk-heart bottom; this bottom is about eight miles wide, soil and timber of the best quality. Elk-heart creek is a fine, boatable stream, running northwest, and the depth of the water (above the knees of our horses) affording a sufficiency at the dryest season for all kinds of machinery. After crossing this creek we entered the Elk-heart prairie, about six miles long and from two to four wide, soil of the best quality. Along the southwest margin of this beautiful prairie flows the Elk-heart creek, on the north bank of which, and in the prairie, is the site of Five Medals village, well known to our soldiers of the late war as the residence of the Pottawatamie war chief, Five Medals. This creek unites with the St. Joseph a few miles south of the line dividing Indiana and Michigan Territory, and near this point is also the entrance from the north of a large creek, which flows from Pleasant lake in Michigan Territory; at the junction of these waters is a fine town site, possessing the advantages of being surrounded by a fine country of good land, and on the bank of the St. Joseph river, which is a deep, boatable stream, affording plenty of water for keel-boat navigation from this point to the lake at all seasons of the year—distance 75 to 100 miles by the river.

Twenty miles below the mouth of Elk-heart is the southern bend of the St. Joseph. At this place the American Fur Company have an establishment to carry on trade with the Indians; it is situated on a high, dry plain, affording a very handsome and extensive site for a village; through this place, the road, as lately laid off from Lake Michigan to Indianapolis, passes, affording it the advantage of a road south to the Wabash, as well as the river northwest to the lake, at all times navigable, with a good harbor for the largest lake vessels, and a safe bay at its entrance into the lake, and also a high and beautiful site for a town on the margin of the lake at the mouth of the river.

From the southern bend of the St. Joseph we traveled west to Lake Michigan; the country is dry and beautiful until we arrive within three or four miles of the lake, part rich barrens, and part first-rate timber land, with a large portion of prairie. We traveled part of the distance on the United States road, from Detroit to Chicago, this road which crosses the northern boundary of Indiana, about thirty miles east of Lake Michigan, and continues parallel with and near the north line of Indiana to the southern point of Lake Michigan. The tract of land through which this road passes was purchased from the Indians at the treaty of the Wabash, called the ten mile purchase, and as embraced between the north line of Indiana and the Kankikee river and ponds. This tract of land is perhaps surpassed by no other for beauty and fertility of soil. There may be a scarcity of timber after it is settled. It is watered with some spring rivulets, and has many beautiful lakes from one-fourth to one and one-half miles in circumference, with dry banks, sand bottoms, clear, sweet water, that abound with fish of various kinds.

We traveled from Lake Michigan a southeasterly course, and descended a hill of more than one hundred feet, and soon found ourselves in the neighborhood of these celebrated Kankikee ponds. The river of that name rises near the center of Indiana, from east to west, and flows west through a low valley, which is from four to eleven miles wide, and in the spring is covered with water. After the summer season sets in the quantity of water decreases, but there remains a marsh or swamp which is said to be sixty miles in length from east to west, and impossible

at most places for man or horse to pass; the river crosses the line dividing Indiana and Illinois about thirty-five miles south of Lake Michigan, and uniting with the river *Aux-plaines*, from the Illinois river. The ponds above mentioned extend along the north side of the river beyond the State line. Most of the land on this river within Indiana is exceedingly poor. We crossed the Kankikee, which from its appearance we believed sufficiently large for boats to pass down it, from a point thirty or forty miles within the State of Indiana, part of the year. The trace on which we traveled led us southeast to Yellow river, a large branch of the Kankikee, within the country now owned by the Pottawatamies, and the whole distance between these rivers we saw no land suitable for farming, it being mostly wet prairie, or if timbered, with low black oak, and the soil of the most inferior quality. After crossing Yellow river and traveling about four miles, we passed a beautiful lake, from seven to ten miles in circumference, called by the Pottawatamie Indians Mix-in-kuk-kee. It is surrounded with rolling land of good quality and is formed from springs, and seems to occupy the highest summit between the Tippecanoe and Kankikee rivers. From it flows to the south a large creek, forming one of the principal branches of the former river, and distant from it about five miles. The lake will probably some day supply a feeder for a canal to connect the Wabash and Illinois rivers. From this lake we proceeded a short distance east and found the line of the Michigan Road, on which we traveled to the Wabash at the mouth of Eel river. Most of that country is good and susceptible of making a fine road. Should the legislature authorize, *as they most likely will*, the location of the donation of the Michigan Road in the prairie between the St. Joseph and Lake Michigan, and on the line of the United States road from Detroit to Chicago, it will sell for an immense sum of money, and within two or three years will form one of the best settlements in Indiana. The country lately purchased is susceptible of forming from three to five counties, and in five years after it is sold by the United States will have sufficient population to send an additional member to Congress.

A TRAVELER.

COTTMAN'S HISTORY PAMPHLETS

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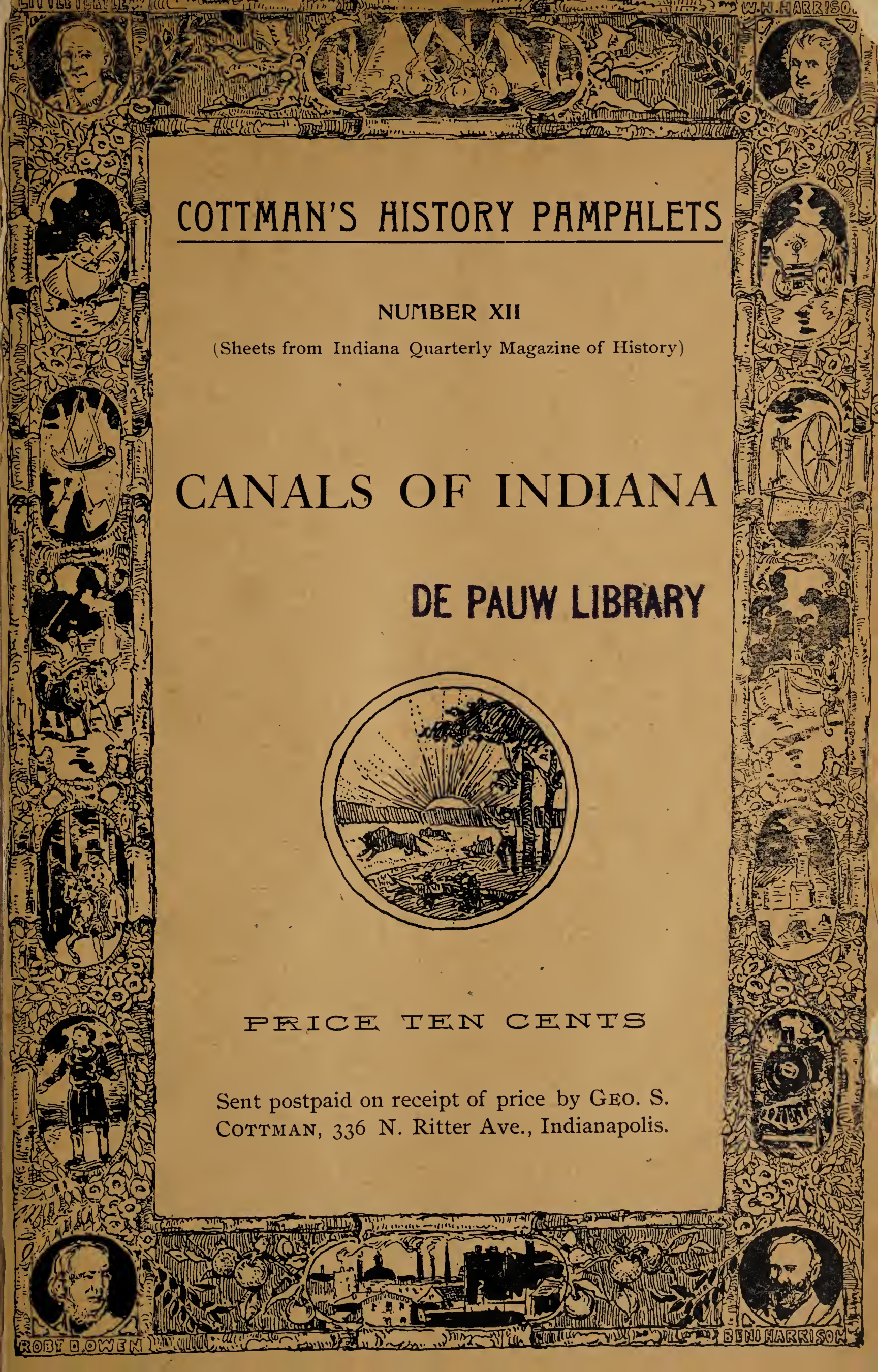
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No. 3

INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS IN INDIANA.

NO. III—THE WABASH AND ERIE CANAL.

THE Wabash and Erie Canal, while identified with the State's internal improvement scheme of 1836, has a history that stands apart from that of the system. The actual beginning of this great waterway antedated the internal improvement law by four years, and it had its origin in Federal aid. The first conception of such a work dates so far back that it is a matter of speculation, for the benefits to be obtained were so obvious that, as one writer says, they must have been suggested to every traveler over the pass between the Wabash and Maumee rivers. The same natural advantages that brought the old French fur trade over this route pointed to the possibility of here connecting the waters of the lakes and the Mississippi. The Ordinance of 1787, Wayne's Indian treaty of 1795, and President Washington recognized the military and commercial value of the portage where Fort Wayne afterward grew up. A little later others began to entertain ideas of a canal there, and in 1818 Captain James Riley,* a government surveyor, who had been sent to make preliminary surveys of the region, developed and pushed this idea. A canal not exceeding six miles in length, over the old portage between the St. Mary's and Little rivers would, he thought, be an important step toward an uninterrupted navigation between the two water systems. His opinion as that of a practical engineer was of sufficient weight to command the attention of Congress, which went so far as to establish the feasibility of such a work by preliminary surveys. As the country was thrown open and the population began to crowd into the rich valley of the upper Wabash, the commercial demands for an outlet to the east became more imperative and there were repeated and growing demands for improve-

*An item in the *Western Censor and Emigrant's Guide* of August 31, 1824, makes this Captain Riley the mariner, once famous for his travels and adventures.

ment of the Wabash and its connection with the Maumee. Indiana itself was too poor to attempt such undertaking, and Congress was besieged with memorials and bills for grants of greater or less magnitude. The fight for such grants was continuous and increased in the scope of its demands. In 1823 Jonathan Jennings reported a bill "to authorize the State of Indiana to open a canal through the public lands for the purpose of connecting the Wabash and the Miami of Lake Erie." All this called for was a right of way for the canal, but it was generally regarded by the representatives from Indiana as the entering wedge finally to secure a land grant from Congress. Before final action on this bill, attempts were made to enlarge its scope, but it was finally passed in almost its original form. This left on the State the burden of constructing the canal, but, with no fund for the purpose other than a wholly inadequate one derived from what was known as the three per cent. fund,* it was not much nearer to the accomplishment.

The concession gained simply lay fallow for two years while the general idea of Federal aid of internal improvements was making its way; then another bill was introduced asking for a land grant to aid the proposed canal in Indiana. Meanwhile the idea of the magnitude of the work had grown. In the debates upon the subject there seems to have been no fixed opinion as to the length the canal was to be. One had it the original portage connection of six or seven miles, another extended the canal to the Little Wabash, twenty-five miles below; others to the mouth of the Tippecanoe river, one hundred miles down the Wabash. Mr. Hendricks, the leading supporter of the bill, and Senator from Indiana, probably expressing the sentiment, of the canal's friends, was of the opinion that the canal should extend fifty miles, to the mouth of the Mississinaway river.† In support of the bill the commercial benefits to the western country generally were dwelt upon, and the most was made of the value to the United States of a military highway into the northwestern possessions, the need of which had been demonstrated in the war of 1812. The bill in a modified form

*This was three per cent. of the net proceeds from the public lands, allowed to the State for internal improvements.

†"The Wabash Trade Route in the Development of the Old Northwest," by Elbert Jay Benton.

was passed March 2, 1827, and granted to the State of Indiana every alternate section of land, equal to five miles in width for six miles on both sides of the proposed line and throughout its whole length, for the purpose of constructing a canal from the head of the navigation on the Wabash at the mouth of the Tippecanoe river to the foot of the Maumee rapids. This gift amounted to 3200 acres for every one of the 213 miles of the proposed work. Indiana, accepting the conditions of the grant, took steps toward the work, but considerable time was spent in discussing the thing to be done (some, even at this time, leaning to the idea of a railroad), and in organizing; and not until February 22, 1832, was the first ground broken. This occurred at Ft. Wayne and was made a notable public occasion.* The first contracts were let in the following June; the first division of the work, of thirty-two miles, was completed in 1856, and on the fourth of July of that year the first canal boat, the "Indiana," passed through to Huntington. Progressing westward as funds permitted, one after another of the Wabash towns borrowed life and growth from its vitalizing touch. Wabash and Peru were reached in 1837, Logansport in 1838, Tippecanoe River in 1841 and Lafayette in 1843.

✓ Meanwhile an eastern division of the canal, from the State line to the Maumee Bay, had been completed by Ohio, and with this completion by the two States there was opened up the largest continuous line of artificial water communication in the world.

With the adoption of an internal improvement system by the

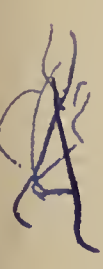
*"The birthday of Washington had been selected as an auspicious time for the beginning, and by order of the Board of Canal Commissioners, J. Vigus, Esq., was authorized to procure the necessary tools and assistance and repair to the most convenient point on the St. Joseph feeder-line at two o'clock on that day for the purpose named. A public meeting was called at the Masonic hall and was attended by all prominent citizens, not only of Ft. Wayne, but of the Wabash and Maumee valleys. Henry Rudisille was chairman and David H. Cole-rick secretary. A procession was formed and proceeded across the St. Mary's river to the point selected. A circle was formed and the commissioners and orator took the stand. Hon. Charles W. Ewing then delivered an appropriate address and was followed by Commissioner Vigus. The latter, after adverting to the difficulties and embarrassments which had beset the undertaking and referring to the importance of the work and the advantages which would be realized, concluded by saying: 'I am now about to commence the Wabash and Erie canal, in the name and by the authority of the State of Indiana.' He then struck a spade into the ground and the assembled gentlemen cheered. Judge Hanna and Captain Murray, two of the able advocates of the canal, next approached and commenced an indiscriminate digging, and the procession then marched back to town"—Valley of the Upper Maumee River, v. II, p. 20.

1842
State, the Wabash and Erie enterprise was merged with the general scheme, of which it was the main artery, and after the abandonment of the other works it was still retained by the State, it then being a source of revenue and having the land grants behind it, though still an unprofitable holding. In 1846, at the instance of the State's creditors, through Charles Butler, their attorney, it, with its tolls and unsold lands, was transferred to them in part payment of the internal improvement debt. A part of the stipulation was that out of the sales of these lands the new holders should complete the canal to the Ohio river. The property was put into the hands of three trustees, two appointed by the creditors and one by the State, and its subsequent history until the final closing up of its affairs in 1876 of itself makes a long and complicated story. The creditors fulfilled their part of the contract to extend the canal, reaching Evansville in 1853,* but the lower or southern division was the least successful part of the work. In fact, the innovation that within a few years was to make canals a thing of the past, the railroads, sounded the death-knell of the old Wabash and Erie soon after it passed from the hands of the State. In the early fifties a railroad was constructed from Toledo, O., westward, along the side of the canal, while others from New Albany northward through Crawfordsville and Lafayette, opened up a formidable competition along the whole route. While Benton gives the "heyday of the canal" as the period from 1847 to 1856, yet the high tide of tolls and rents (\$193,400.18) was in 1852, and "from that time the income steadily decreased." Traffic was deflected to the newer, swifter and more reliable method of transportation, confidence in the future of the canal waned, money ceased to be invested in boat-building and investments in canal-property were withdrawn. By 1854 "bulky goods, like corn, iron and lumber—articles which paid light tolls—constituted its main traffic,"† while the better-paying exports all went to the railroads; and to add to this curtailment, the imports caught by the canal dwindled away almost wholly; boats that carried the bulky products eastward were forced to return empty, and the passenger carriage which had been a valuable

*The canal was then 459½ miles in length.

†Benton, p. 79.

part of the business, dropped off altogether. In spite of the reduction of tolls for the encouragement of shippers, the tonnage steadily declined till the competition with the railroads became hopeless. By various makeshifts, that had in them the flavor of desperation, traffic on the ditch continued to exist after a fashion, until in the seventies it was wholly abandoned, the court ordered the sale of the canal, the right of way and lands went to speculators and the old waterway, famous in our history, fell into ruin. To-day, over part of the old route, lie side by side the river, the dry and half-obliterated canal bed, a railroad and an electric line, representatives of four distinct epochs in commerce and transportation—the more and the less remote pasts, the present and a dawning future.

The Wabash Canal, while short-lived and a failure as measured by the sanguine hopes that promoted the enterprise, was in its brief day a most important and interesting factor in the development of the Wabash Valley. As it crawled westward successive towns along the route hailed its arrival with jubilant demonstrations and other towns sprang up in anticipation of its benefits. It brought into the valley a new life and energy, both commercial and social. "The abundant agricultural wealth of the Wabash country now found comparatively cheap and easy transportation directly to the East; the regions north and south for a distance of fifty to one hundred miles gravitated to this outlet, and from the Illinois country westward to Lafayette came flocking the great prairie schooners laden with their contributions to the world's marts.* Westward, in turn, came the capacious freight boats laden with merchandise of all kinds, and the packets with emigrants who, now having access to this land of promise, came in an uninterrupted stream, adding to the new currents of life. Towns along the river which heretofore could have only a broken and restricted intercourse with each other, were now regularly connected, and traveling was made possible to the multitude. And it was idyllic and picturesque traveling. People spent leisurely hours, sitting in pleasant

*Old settlers tell of long trains of wagons waiting by the hour at these rising commercial centers for their turns to unload the product of the farms, bound to the eastern markets. Four hundred wagons unloading in Lafayette during a single day of 1844 were counted by one of the pioneers. Another, speaking of the business at Wabash, says it was a common occurrence to see as many as four or five hundred teams in that place in a single day, unloading grain to the canal.—Benton p. 101.

company on the decks or in the cabin of the smoothly gliding packets. Passengers got acquainted and fraternized, played games and discoursed, and, when the boat was delayed, it was quite common for congenial groups to step off and stroll on ahead, gathering wild flowers as they went. /The speed of the best packets was six or eight miles an hour and one writer gives us a picture of the swaggering driver in a slouch hat and top boots, lashing his team to a trot.* On approaching a town there was a great blowing of horns from the deck, and when dock was made everybody went ashore to mingle with the townsmen, to ask and to answer innumerable questions. When the boat was ready to go, a horn was blown again to warn the passengers aboard, and on they fared to the next stopping place.

Merchants went by packet to the eastern cities for their goods. Ft. Wayne, Huntington, Wabash, Peru, Logansport, Delphi, Pittsburg and Lafayette attained a substantial commercial importance. Elevators rose and factories multiplied. Mills secured power from the water stored to feed the canal, and cargoes of flour moved eastward continually.† The canal made possible the increase of the population by enabling the settlers to find markets for their surplus products, and obviously, by this rapid increase of a rural population, agricultural conditions were vitally affected. It has been asserted that there was no agriculture in the country before the construction of the canal. All evidence shows that it was, at least, conducted on a small scale. ♣Where formerly production was limited to supplying home consumption, it now began to send its products to eastern States. Larger farms took the place of the small clearings. Lands that before were not considered worth cultivation were now cleared, drained and brought into use. The increased area included in a single farm and the ready sale at the enhanced prices of its products led to the introduction of improved machinery. * * * In 1844 there was shipped out of Toledo, coming from the Maumee and Wabash valleys, 5262 bushels of corn. Two years later this output increased a hundredfold, and in five years more it amounted to 2,775,149 bushels.‡ Other industries

*Valley of the Maumee, p. 17.

†Leroy Armstrong in *Lafayette Journal*, September 10, 1899. A very graphic and interesting article on the Wabash and Erie Canal.

‡Benton.

were promoted, and the annual report of the trustees for the year 1851 speaks of nine flouring-mills, eight saw-mills, three paper-mills, eight carding- and fulling-mills, two oil-mills and one iron establishment, as being furnished water-power from the canal, and in addition to these were many other mills, elevators, foundries and warehouses scattered all along the route not using canal water for power, but there, nevertheless, because of the canal. Industries dealing with raw material were also developed. The canal ran through a heavily forested tract and at once became the highway for handling firewood. Similarly the manufacture and shipping of lumber was begun and maintained for a long time on an enormous scale, while the quarrying of stone and the manufacture of lime became prominent sources of wealth. In conclusion, it was estimated by Chief Engineer Jesse L. Williams that thirty-eight counties in Indiana and nearly nine counties in Illinois, including an approximate area of 22,000 square miles, were directly affected by the canal. The same is affirmed of all the counties in northwestern Ohio.

In this connection, the stimulating effect of transportation service upon contiguous territory is pointed out by Mr. Benton, who cites Noble and Huntington counties as typical cases. Huntington was a canal county. Noble was not, but offered far better natural advantages. For the year 1840 to 1850 the rate of increase in Noble was 190 per cent., while in Huntington it was 397 per cent. And this, Mr. Benton adds, "is to be regarded as an extremely conservative case."

Another thing to be noticed is the effect of the canal on the equalization of prices. After its opening, farmers who had been selling wheat for forty-five cents per bushel and buying salt at nine dollars per barrel received for their wheat one dollar per bushel and got salt for less than four dollars a barrel. "Illustrations," our author says, "might readily be multiplied."

NOTE—For further information touching the history of the Wabash Canal and its commercial and social influences in the settlement of the northwest, the reader is referred to Mr. Benton's admirable thesis as preeminently the best treatment of the subject that has yet appeared.

THE WHITEWATER CANAL.

BY JAMES M. MILLER.

[For an article on the Richmond and Brookville canal by James M. Miller, together with a brief sketch of the writer, see this magazine, Vol. I, p. 189.]

The rapidly increasing settlement of the Whitewater valley and the remarkable fertility of the soil caused an increasing demand for a market for the products of the farms, and as early as 1822 or 1823 a convention of delegates from Randolph, Wayne, Union, Fayette, Franklin and Dearborn counties, Indiana, assembled at Harrison, O., to consider the practicability of constructing a canal down the valley. The prime mover was Augustus Jocelyn, a minister of the gospel who edited and published the *Western Agriculturist* at Brookville, and through his paper worked up quite an interest in behalf of the improvement of the valley. Shortly after the convention was held Colonel Shriver, of the United States army, began a survey for a canal and got as far down the valley as Garrison's creek, where the survey was brought to a sudden close by the death of the colonel. The suspension was of short duration, for Colonel Stansbury, United States civil engineer, soon completed it. Nothing seems to have been done until February of 1834, when the Legislature directed the canal commissioners to employ competent engineers, and "early the ensuing summer survey to locate a canal from a point at or near the mouth of Nettle creek, in Wayne county, to Lawrenceburg, Ind." Accordingly, William Goodin was employed as engineer-in-chief and Jesse L. Williams assistant engineer. During its construction and existence there were employed as assistant engineers Simpson Talbot, Elisha Long, John H. Farquhar, Martin Crowell, Henry C. Moore, Stephen D. Wright, — Dewey and John Shank. The canal was first located on the west side of the river as far as Laurel, where it crossed to the east and continued down to the gravel bank just above Brookville, where it recrossed to the west bank and proceeded on to Lawrenceburg, but was afterward located on the east bank from Laurel to its terminus.

Strange as it may seem, this great and badly needed improvement was bitterly opposed by some and every obstruction thrown in the way of the enterprise that could be, the opposition being led by Charles Hutchens, a Kentuckian, who resided for many years in Brookville, and during his residence edited several papers.

A meeting was called to assemble at the court-house in Brookville at 2 o'clock p. m., December 25, 1834, to consider the propriety of constructing a canal from the forks of Blue creek to its mouth. It was proposed to connect with the Whitewater canal near the mouth of the creek, and it was thought that Congress would donate the contiguous land. The call closes with the following postscript: "While we are borrowing money to build the Whitewater canal, let's borrow a little more to build the Blue Creek." This was done by the opponents of the Whitewater, as the proposed canal would only have been four miles in length. January 5, 1835, the engineer reported the survey completed. The length of the canal was seventy-six miles, with a fall of 491 feet from its head at Nettle creek to its terminus at Lawrenceburg, requiring fifty-five locks and seven dams, the latter varying in height from two to eight feet. The estimated cost per mile was \$14,908, or \$1,142,126 for the entire canal. In June of that year General Amaziah Morgan, of Rush county, was appointed a commissioner to receive stone, timber, or the conveyance of land to the canal to aid in constructing it. Owing to the hills in southern Indiana, it was deemed best to cross the line at Harrison creek and locate about eight miles of the canal in Hamilton county, Ohio, recrossing into Indiana and continuing to Lawrenceburg. As it was necessary to have the consent of Ohio to construct the portion running through her territory, the Legislature of Indiana authorized the Governor to obtain Ohio's permission, and Governor Noble appointed O. H. Smith a commissioner, who proceeded to Columbus, O., and January 30, 1835, presented Indiana's request. This was bitterly opposed, and the petition refused on the grounds that it was against Ohio's interest to grant it, as the Whitewater canal would run parallel to the Miami at a distance of from twenty to fifty miles from it, and that the products of Wayne, Union and part of Fayette and Franklin counties, Indiana, were taken to

Hamilton and shipped to Cincinnati on the Miami canal, and if Ohio granted the request, she would lose that tonnage. The refusal only served to put Indiana on her mettle, and the Buckeyes soon learned that when "the Hoosiers will they will, and that's the end on't," for the Legislature immediately instructed the Board of Internal Improvements, should Ohio persist in her refusal, to construct a railroad on the Indiana side of the State line from Harrison to Lawrenceburg. This, with the influence of Cincinnati, whose people quickly realized what the result would be to them if the commerce of the valley went to Lawrenceburg, hastily changed the mind of Ohio's Legislature, and the petition was granted. One enthusiastic advocate of the Whitewater canal, in the *Liberty Hall and Cincinnati Gazette* of September 8, 1836, earnestly and persistently urged Cincinnati to borrow half a million dollars to aid in constructing the canal and Miami railroad. Early in January of 1836 the champions of the Whitewater canal in the Indiana Legislature, Enoch McCarty in the Senate and Caleb Smith and Mark Crum in the House, had the pleasing satisfaction of seeing their labors crowned with success by the passing of the internal improvement bill.

Tuesday January 9, 1836, was a gala day in Brookville, for on that day the news that the internal improvement bill had passed both houses of the Legislature was received, and in the evening the event was celebrated with speaking by prominent men, all buildings, public and private, being illuminated, and long rows of lights placed on the fences along Meirs street. A long procession was formed under command of Colonel B. S. Noble and Captain Dodd, and, amid the ringing of bells, beating of drums and roaring of cannon, marched through the streets to the inspiring strains of a band of music. The demonstrations continued until after midnight, when the citizens retired to their homes, but the cannon boomed till daylight. Of all who took part in the demonstration there are, perhaps, living only Rev. T. A. Goodwin,* Thomas Pursel, Jackson Lynn and W. W. Butler*, of Indianapolis; Dr. Cornelius Cain, of Clarksburg, Ind.; Jonathan Cain, of Connersville, and Eli Cain and Dr. Thomas Colescott, of Brookville, who participated in the demonstration.

*Since deceased, as are, doubtless, some of the others. This article was written in 1899.

September 13, 1836, the ceremony of "breaking ground" and letting of the contracts for the construction of the canal from Brookville to Lawrenceburg was celebrated at Brookville by a grand barbecue and every expression of rejoicing possible. The orator of the day was Governor Noah Noble. The other speakers were ex-Governors James B. Ray and David Wallace; Hon. George H. Dunn, of Lawrenceburg, and Dr. Daniel Drake, of Cincinnati. Quite a number of speeches were made and toasts offered, the following being offered by John Finley, editor of the *Richmond Palladium*:

"There is not in the wide world a valley so sweet
As that vale where the branches of Whitewater meet;
Oh! The last picayune shall depart from my fob,
Ere the east and the west forks relinquish the job."

A pick, shovel and wheelbarrow had been provided for the occasion, and at the close of the speaking and reading of the toasts one of the speakers seized the pick and loosened the ground for a few feet, another trundled the wheelbarrow to the loosened earth, another took the shovel and filled the wheelbarrow and ex-Governor Wallace trundled it a short distance and dumped it, and "ground was broken" for the Whitewater canal. On this day, September 13, 1836, contracts were let for the construction of the canal to the following parties: William Carr, Joel Wilcox, Zephaniah Reed, William Rhubottom, Joel Palmer, R. & T. Freeman, — Westerfield, Benjamin M. Remy, George Heimer, Moses Kelley, William Marshall, N. Hammond, William M. McCarty, Isaac Van Horn, H. Simonton, William Garrison, Paren & Kyle, Carmichael & Barwick, Gibbons & Williams, Halstead & Parker, Naylor, Troxall & Co., D. Barnham & Co., Scott & Butt, H. Lasure & Co., Vance, Caldwell & Co., Tyner, Whipple & Co. and C. J. Meeks.

The State pushed the work, and in November of 1837 Joel Wilcox, the contractor for building the bridge and dam across the east fork of the Whitewater below Brookville, completed the latter and water was let in the first mile of the canal. According to the report of the Board of Internal Improvements for that year, there had been employed between Lawrenceburg and Brookville nine of that board, one engineer-in-chief, one secre-

tary, twelve resident engineers, seven senior and eleven junior assistant engineers and twenty-four rodmen. One of the rodmen was the venerable George W. Julian, now a resident of Irvington, and who a few years later took such an active part in national affairs. Also twenty axmen and 975 laborers, the latter receiving \$18 per month.

The White bridge, as it is called, was finished by the contractor in September of 1838, the west side of it being used for a towpath. It is 392 feet long and cost \$14,000. The locks were either named for some prominent person engaged in constructing the canal or for the town where they were located. They were Marshall's, Fox's, Trenton, Berwise's, Rhubottom's, Cedar Grove, guard lock at Case's, Wiley's (two), Tyner's, guard lock below Brookville, Brookville at the basin, Reed's, just above the depot, Boundary Hill, Yellow Bank, Twin locks, Gordon's, Metamora, Murray's, Ferris's, Jenks's, Laurel, Hetrick's, Garrison's creek, Conwell's, Limpus's, Berlin, Nulltown, Updegraff's, Herron's, Conwell's, Mill lock, Triple locks, Claypool's, Carmen's, Fourmile, Swamp Level, Milton and Lockport (two).

The first boat to reach Brookville from Lawrenceburg was the Ben Franklin, owned by Long & Westerfield and commanded by General Elisha Long. It arrived June 8, 1839, and was drawn by hand from below town up to its landing. The estimated cost of the canal from Hagerstown to Lawrenceburg was \$1,567,470, and to construct it to Brookville had cost \$664,665. The State debt had become so large she could not pay the interest, and the canal was sold in 1842 to Henry S. Vallette, a wealthy Cincinnati, who proceeded to complete it. In November of 1843 the first boat, the Native, in charge of Captain Crary, reached Laurel at dark with a grand excursion from Brookville. During the night the bank burst and left the excursionists eight miles above Brookville to walk home. In June of 1845 the canal reached Connersville. The first boat to arrive at Herron's lock was the Banner. The following October the canal reached Cambridge City and had cost the company \$473,000. In 1846 it was completed to Hagerstown, and according to the report of the Auditor of the State for 1848, had cost the State \$1,092,175.13. In January of 1847 a flood destroyed the

aqueducts at Laurel and this side of Cambridge City and cut channels around the feeder dams at Cass's (now Cooley's Station), Brookville, Laurel, Connersville and Cambridge City. The damage was estimated to be \$90,000, and \$70,000, was expended during the summer in repairs. The following November there was another flood that destroyed all that had been done and \$80,000 more was expended, leaving \$30,000 of repairs undone, and the canal was not ready for use until September of 1848. Disaster followed disaster, the cost of maintaining it exceeding the revenue until the summer of 1862, when it was sold at the court-house door in Brookville by the United States marshal to H. C. Lord, president of the I. & C. Railroad, for \$63,000, that being the amount of the judgment. The railroad had long desired to secure the canal from Harrison to Cincinnati, so it could lay its track through the tunnel and thus gain an entrance to the city and the use of the Whitewater basin for a depot. This sale, for some reason, was set aside, although the railroad held that portion of the canal and used it as I have stated, but on December 5, 1865, C. C. Binckley (now Judge Binckley, of Richmond, and State senator from Wayne county), president of the Whitewater Valley Canal Company, sold it to H. C. Lord, president of the Whitewater Valley Railroad Company, for \$137,348.12.

The last boat that ran from Cincinnati to Brookville was the Favorite, owned and run by Captain Aaron C. Miller, at present a resident of Brookville. I have obtained the names of the following persons who are still residents of the county who helped build the canal: James Derbyshire, Jonathan Banes, William Carr, Peter D. Pelsor, Isaac K. Lee, John McKeown, Josiah McCafferty and Jacob Harvey.

In 1836 Ohio began to consider the propriety of constructing a branch from Harrison to Cincinnati, and in February of 1837 decided to build it, the estimated cost being between \$300,000 and \$400,000. In May following the books were opened at the office of the Ohio Insurance Company, in Cincinnati, for the sale of stock in the Whitewater canal. Ohio took \$150,000 and Cincinnati \$200,000, leaving \$100,000 unsold. In February of 1838 M. T. Williams advertised in the *Cincinnati Gazette* for proposals for constructing culverts over Mill creek, Bold Face, Rapid

run and Muddy creek, also for an aqueduct at Dry Forks and a lift and guard lock at the State line and a tunnel through the ridge that separates the great Miami and Ohio rivers at North Bend. In April of 1838 an excursion left Cincinnati on the steamboat Mosselle for General Harrison's farm at North Bend, to witness the ceremony of "breaking ground" for the Cincinnati branch. In 1838 it was proposed to unite the Central canal with the Whitewater and three routes were surveyed. Starting at or near Muncietown the first intersected the Whitewater at Milton and was thirty-three miles in length. The second, a short distance this side of that place, was thirty-seven miles long. The third, three and a half miles below Milton, was fifty-two miles long. After a thorough examination of the country and ascertaining the amount of water that could be depended on, it was deemed impracticable and the project abandoned. In January of 1839 contracts for constructing forty sections of the canal, averaging one half-mile each, between Harrison and Cincinnati, were let. The locks on this portion were Miami or Cleves, Dry Fork, Green's, Godley's and Cooper's. Thus the work progressed slowly, but perhaps as rapidly as could be expected, and in 1845 the branch was completed and direct communication by the Whitewater canal between Brookville and Cincinnati was established.

The first warehouse erected on the Whitewater canal basin in Cincinnati was built by Stephen D. Coffin and Hadley D. Johnson, of this place, and the first boatload of flour shipped down the canal to Cincinnati was consigned to Mr. Johnson and he sold it in that city. The first boat completed at the Rochester (now Cedar Grove) boat-yard of Messrs. T. Moore, U. Kendall, G. B. Child and S. D. Coffin was a packet called the Native, and with Stephen D. Coffin as master arrived in Brookville July 3, 1839, and the next day took a merry party of excursionists to Cass's dam, three and a half miles below town, one of the excursionists being a "truant schoolboy" who in after years filled a very important place in State and national affairs, made General Grant an excellent postmaster-general and is at present filling an important position in Washington City. The Native made regular trips between Brookville and Lawrenceburg, leaving the former at 6:30 a. m. Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays, ar-

living at the latter place the same evening, and on the return leaving Lawrenceburg at 6:30 a. m. on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays, arriving at Brookville the same day. The fare was \$1.25 and \$1.50, the State receiving 37½ cents out of each fare.

With all its defects, the canal greatly aided in developing and making the Whitewater valley what it is to-day, one of the prettiest and most desirable places on earth for a home.

JAMES M. MILLER.

Brookville, Ind.

THE CENTRAL CANAL.

[From an interview with Gen. T. A. Morris, engineer, in 1898.]

THE Central canal, of which the piece from Indianapolis to Broad Ripple was the only completed portion, was a part of the system adopted by the Indiana Board of Internal Improvements in 1836. The Central canal was to run from Wabash, by way of Anderson and Indianapolis, to Evansville. Work on the canal was begun in 1837 and prosecuted up to 1838.

“During that time the part between Broad Ripple and Indianapolis was completed. A good deal of heavy work was also done on the canal between Indianapolis and Wabashtown, much of it about Anderson. The canal was almost completed from Indianapolis to the bluffs of White river, and a small amount of work was done between the bluffs and Evansville, when the Board of Internal Improvements failed, overwhelmed with debt. The board required the unfinished work to be measured, and the contractors were allowed what was due them for the work already done. As there was no money to make such payment, the Legislature had authorized the issue of scrip, and this was paid to the contractors.

“Some time after that the Legislature authorized the sale of the Central canal to outside parties. Alexander Morrison and myself were appointed commissioners to value the property, which was to be sold at our valuation. It was sold to parties in New York. Those persons disposed of it to a company formed here. The present Indianapolis Water Company is a successor of that company, and now owns the canal, having bought it more than twenty years ago.

"I located the line of this canal, laid it off and superintended the construction. I surveyed the line from Wabashtown to Martinsville. It went through a rather rough country. I camped out for six months, but came into town for Christmas. Many a morning we had to shake the snow off ourselves when we got up.

"There were forests and thickets and a great deal of swampy ground. There was a big swamp a mile or so south of Broad Ripple which contained water nearly all the year, and was a great feeding place for wild ducks. There was another big swamp southeast of this, near Hiram Bacon's place on the Noblesville road, west to the river. Remains of the former swamp still exist. I have had some good sport shooting snipes and ducks there.

"North of Indianapolis, along Fall creek, was a swampy place with a greater or less depth of water. It was at one time noted for its big pickerel. I have also shot snipes there. The place is now built up, and is called Lincoln Park."

The General said that in Madison and Grant counties the surveyor's work was especially hard because of the swampy nature of much of the ground, and that the surveyor had to be an expert in jumping, as he made his way by springing from hummock to hummock. There was one place in Madison county where the engineers desired to unite two streams. They anticipated some difficulty in doing this, but when they came to the spot agreed on for the dam, they found that the beavers had long before built a dam at that very spot and accomplished the purpose the engineers had in view, so they simply laid their lines across the dam made by the beavers.

FIRST OLD SETTLERS' MEETING.

In a previous issue [Vol. II, No. 1] we noticed what we then thought the first old settlers' meeting ever held in Indiana. This was in Wayne county, in 1854. In the *Madison Daily Banner* of January 29, 1852, we find an account of the organization of the first settlers of the city of Madison, to be composed of those who were residing in the county since 1820.

THE INTERNAL IMPROVEMENT SYSTEM OF INDIANA.

INDIANA'S great scheme for internal improvement which went into active operation with the famous internal improvement law of 1836, has, so far as our published histories show, never received more than superficial consideration. A thorough study of it, of the spirit that begot it and the lessons taught by its economic fallacies would, indeed, make a chapter of some magnitude, and an inviting field still remains open for some ambitious scholar to gather the substance and meaning of it into an elaborate thesis. Thus far, Elbert Jay Benton, in his "Wabash Trade Route," which has been cited in our previous article, has, perhaps, got the most out of it. This brief study claims to be little more than an outline, which may be of interest in connection with other articles of our series.

The internal improvement movement, as taken up by the State, can be better understood when we remember that it was but part of a more general one that swept over the country, and which had been gathering force for years. The situation in the United States was, perhaps, analagous to none other in the world at that day—a vast interior, still new and in the rough, predestined by climate, soil and natural resources to high development, and occupied by a race of boundless energy thoroughly bent upon progress. Almost with the founding of the nation the needs of transportation and the desirableness of facilitating it by government aid was agitated; and as population spread, forming sections, the needs became more imperative, both commercially and politically. There was a strong advocacy of federal aid. In 1806 the Cumberland or National road, to penetrate the West, was projected, and a year or two later Albert Gallatin, as Secretary of the Treasury, laid before Congress an elaborate scheme for federal works, consisting of roads, canals and river improvements. His suggestions were not carried out, but the fact that he had been instructed to prepare a report on the subject was significant.

But such aid as the general government rendered was insig-

nificant compared with the growing needs of the country; private enterprise likewise failed to keep pace with those needs, and the idea of State paternalism naturally grew up as the most promising means to the desired end.

As early as 1812 the legislature of New York voted five millions of dollars toward a canal to connect the waters of the Hudson and the lakes, and though the war with England, following soon after, put a quietus upon the proceeding for the time, a few years later saw the completion of the great Erie canal, to serve thereafter as an object lesson to other States. About the same period Pennsylvania appropriated many thousands of dollars toward various improvements; Virginia and North Carolina, alarmed by wholesale emigration from their borders to the valleys of the Ohio and Tennessee, attributed it to their insufficient transportation facilities, and sought to remedy it by State aid, and these were but the earlier steps in a movement which took possession of the country at large. Turnpikes, canals, navigable rivers, and a little later, railroads were things that people must have, and whatever promised to bring them made a strong bid for popular favor.

In the light of this prevailing and growing idea, then, it is not surprising that the citizens of Indiana, concerned to desperation by the difficulties of their situation, should have fallen in with the notion, and, beguiled by specious arguments, launched into a rash undertaking that afterward threatened to be the State's undoing. The sentiment within the State that culminated in the Act of 1836, with its reckless appropriation, was a growth. "For a period of more than ten years the expediency of providing by law for the commencement of a State system of public works had been discussed before the people of the State by governors, legislators and distinguished private citizens."* In his message of December 8, 1835, Governor Noble said: "The first steps in most of the important works undertaken have met with opposition from those who entertain fears of taxation, bankruptcy and ruin, but of all the public works in other States there are none that have been abandoned, or that have proved burdensome or unpopular with the people, even under the highest rate of taxation: on the contrary they have uniformly become

*Dillon p. 569.

sources of wealth and comfort, monuments of public spirit and enterprise, and objects of just pride and exaltation with the people. These triumphant successes have settled the question as to the practicability and utility of public works, and, encouraged by these examples, our citizens have manifested their willingness to enter with spirit upon a system that will contribute not less to their own prosperity than to the credit of the State."

The messages and addresses of Governors Hendricks, Ray and Noble (1822 to 1834) urged public works—the improvement of rivers and the construction of roads and canals. The financial success of such works in other States, particularly the Erie canal, in New York—where, according to the statement of Governor Marcy, of said State, the revenue from the canal would, within three years, more than pay off its cost—was often quoted. Ohio's canal system, also, had paid well, and facts and figures to prove the safeness of such investment were abundant. In a word, what the people needed the people would use when provided with it, and the returns from the tolls would take care of the necessary debt.

With the agitation public sentiment became educated to the idea, as is evidenced by the part the question came to play in politics. It became an issue in support of which politicians arrayed themselves, and not a few, among them James B. Ray, Governor from 1825 to 1831, may be said to have ridden into power on this wave.

In view of all the circumstances, the State, though it did the unwise thing, as the sequence proved, yet acted slowly, and not without prudence. The bill committing the State to the public works did not make its way through the legislature until preliminary surveys had been made, information made public and the will of the people determined by the ballot. "In 1836 the financial affairs of the country seemed to be in sound condition, and the minds of the people of Indiana were fully prepared to regard with favor the commencement of an extensive system of State internal improvements."* It was only a question of time till this tide must have its way and it issued eventually in an elaborate law of forty-four sections, providing for a system

*Dillon, p. 571.

of turnpikes, canals and railroads that should practically touch and benefit all sections of the State. These were to comprise:

1. The Whitewater Canal, extending from the National Road down the valley of the Whitewater river to Lawrenceburg on the Ohio and "above the National Road as far as may be practicable;" also a connection by canal or railroad between the Whitewater and Central canals.

2. The Central Canal, to connect the Wabash Canal above Logansport with the Ohio at Evansville, running by way of Muncietown and Indianapolis and down the White river valley.

3. The extension of the Wabash Canal (which under federal encouragement had been under course of construction for four years) from the Tippecanoe river down the Wabash valley to Terre Haute, and thence, by a practicable route, to connect with the Central.

4. A railroad from Madison through Columbus, Indianapolis and Crawfordsville, to Lafayette.

5. A macadamized turnpike road from New Albany to Vincennes by way of Greenville, Paoli, Mount Pleasant and Washington.

6. A railroad, if practicable, and if not a macadamized road, from Jeffersonville and New Albany to Crawfordsville by way of Salem, Bedford, Bloomington and Greencastle.

7. The removal of obstructions to navigation from the channel of the Wabash between its mouth and the town of Vincennes.

The total length of these roads and canals has been given as more than 1200 miles.* The appropriations specified in the act was \$8,000,000, and the actual loan authorized on the credit of the State was \$10,000,000.

An eighth provision authorized a survey and estimate of a canal if practicable, if not, of a railroad, from the Wabash canal at or near Ft. Wayne, to Lake Michigan at or near Michigan City, by way of Goshen, South Bend, and, if practicable, Laporte. The State pledged itself to construct this work within ten years.

The machinery essential to so great an undertaking was organized, a Board of Internal Improvements was created, expert engineers were secured, and a large army of workers put into

*W. H. Smith, History of Indiana.

the field. Through these experts and laborers the borrowed money found its way into circulation; prosperity instead of hard times "stared people in the face" and most of the people were more than satisfied. It was believed that the revenues from the public works would fill the State treasury and simply do away with taxation, and the dream of opulent times snuffed out the enforced prudence of the normal business world and begot a burning fever for more gain. "A period of wild speculation ensued. Those who owned one farm bought others, and those who owned none went into debt and purchased one."*

But though the improvement bill was "hailed by its friends as the dawning of a new era in the history of our legislation, essential to the prosperity of our people, and highly creditable to the character of Indiana,"† there was a minority who saw breakers ahead, and even among its ardent supporters there was not lacking those whose foresight and sagacity begot premonitions, as is shown by this excerpt from Governor Noble's message of December 5, 1836 (House Journal, 1836, p. 19): "There must," he says, "be foresight and stability in our legislation so as to continue and increase the confidence of the people at home, and maintain the just credit of the State abroad. Until our success is complete our duties will not terminate, and whilst indulging our fancies with the prospect of a bright future, it should not be forgotten that during the progress of every public work like ours there has been a financial pressure from which we can claim no exemption. An overflowing prosperity will follow profuse disbursements of the public funds. With its current we will all be swept along, and, seduced by the times, we will live high, purchase freely, contract debts and plunge into other extravagances at which our present notions of economy would revolt. And when these disbursements are reduced, when the heaviest demands are made upon us for the support of the Treasury, we shall have parted with the means placed in our hands. Such a state of things will hardly fail to bring upon us a pressure, and when the dark period arrives, there may be some so forgetful of its past benefits as to complain of the system."

*Smith, v. I, p. 280.

†Elbert Jay Benton's Wabash Trade Route, p. 54; quoted from *Lafayette Journal and Free Press* of January 29, 1856.

Despite these forebodings, however, the framer of the Message permitted himself to see only a bright and hopeful outcome, and he proceeded to point out the policy whereby there would be thrown into the Treasury each year, not only a sufficient supply for the demands upon it, but a continuous handsome balance that would prepare the State for any crisis.

But time proved the wisdom of the first and not of the second of these predictions. In a word, the sanguine hopes of the friends of the great system were but short-lived, and so swiftly did adversity follow that three years after the public works began they were deliberately abandoned in the midst of construction and after an expenditure of something more than five and a half millions of dollars, for at least one and a half millions of which there was no return. "The State abandoned outright three of its works: The Jeffersonville and Crawfordsville roads, after expending \$339,183.18; the Lafayette and Indianapolis road, after expending \$73,142.87; the work on the Wabash rapids, after expending \$14,288.42. The Whitewater Canal, projected from Lawrenceburg to the mouth of Nettle creek, 76½ miles, was completed for 31 miles between the Ohio river and Brookville. The work cost \$1,099,867. It was later completed by a private company and maintained in successful operation for some years. Rents and tolls had brought the State \$9,902.41. The northern division of the Central Canal was sold to private parties in 1850 and 1851. It had cost the State something over \$863,209.88. The State received in tolls and rent \$13,720.13. Similarly the Madison & Indianapolis railroad passed into private control after costing the State \$1,624,605.05, and returning \$63,182.32. No part of the Erie and Michigan canal was finished. A feeder and surveys cost the State \$156,324. The water power of the Northport feeder dam was available, and that was conveyed to Noble county for school purposes. On the Central Canal between Indianapolis and Evansville \$574,646.49 was expended, on the Cross Cut, \$436,189.88."*

This abandonment "caused wide-spread disaster, bankrupting most of the contractors and leaving hundreds and thousands of laborers without pay for the work they had done,"† and it left

*Benton.

†Smith.

the State under an enormous debt without the ability to pay even the accruing interest, which was honorably discharged only after years of financiering, and which all but resulted in the disgrace of repudiation.

The causes of this disastrous outcome were various. In part it is attributed to the financial distress that swept over the country in 1837. Another factor was unwise management. Instead of proceeding judiciously and slowly in the floating of bonds, and completing one work at a time, thus securing speedy returns from tolls, there was a politic attempt to satisfy the clamorous demands of the sections to be benefited and to supply them all at once with their canals, roads and railroads. Thus, to balance the vast expenditures there was no income, save a slight one from the Wabash Canal, which had previously reached a stage of service. "To add to the State's embarrassment, the price of labor, provisions and material increased the cost of the various works far above the original estimates," and yet again, bonds had been sold on credit, and, owing to the subsequent panic in the business world, sums amounting to more than three million dollars were a total loss. These and other causes that would seem to be inseparable from government paternalism* operated fatally. Some of the works, such as the Whitewater canal, the Madison railroad and some minor features of this system, were transferred to private companies that extended and operated them. The Wabash canal was for the time retained by the State. The utter loss of the work on the unopened canals may fairly be considered as due to the succeeding era of railroads which speedily made canal construction practically obsolete.

For the better part of a decade legislation in Indiana was fronted by the State's huge and steadily accruing debt, and the seeming impossibility of lifting the burden. The solution was made possible, eventually, by the creditors themselves. In 1845-'46 the population of the State was estimated at 800,000, the taxable property at \$118,500,000, the voters' poll-tax at \$124,000. The total debt per capita was a little over \$20, and the wealth per capita about \$140. For five years Indiana's bondholders had received no interest on their investments, the ultimate re-

*See Autobiography of Philip Mason, p. 172.

covery of the principal was a matter of serious doubt, and the depreciated bonds were being quoted at 40 cents on the dollar. Among the bondholders were not only large capitalists, but many persons of limited means that depended on their investments and were actual sufferers by the non-payment of their interest. Their straits demanded some remedy, if remedy were possible.

As an agent for these desperate creditors Charles Butler, a New York attorney, appeared at the legislative session of 1845-'46 with a plan whereby the State might satisfy its bondholders. This plan which, in substance was eventually accepted, is embodied in the law known as the "Butler Bill" (General Laws, 1846) and is to the effect that the bondholders should receive as part payment of the debt the Wabash and Erie Canal, then in operation from Lafayette eastward, with its tolls and unsold lands. A part of the stipulation was that out of the sales of these lands the new owners should also complete the canal to Evansville. The property was put into the hands of three trustees appointed, two by the creditors and one by the State, and with this transfer Indiana was happily rid of the most galling burden she has ever been saddled with.

G. S. C.*

OLD BLOCKHOUSE STILL STANDING.

According to a newspaper correspondent† there still stands a half-mile west of Petersburg, in Pike county, a blockhouse of the war of 1812. The accompanying picture shows it to be a large, two-story cabin of heavy logs and provided with portholes. It was occupied during the war by Hosea Smith and family, together with his neighbors, who came to it as a refuge.

*The unsigned article on the Wabash & Erie canal is also by the editor.

†*Indianapolis News*, March 9, 1907.

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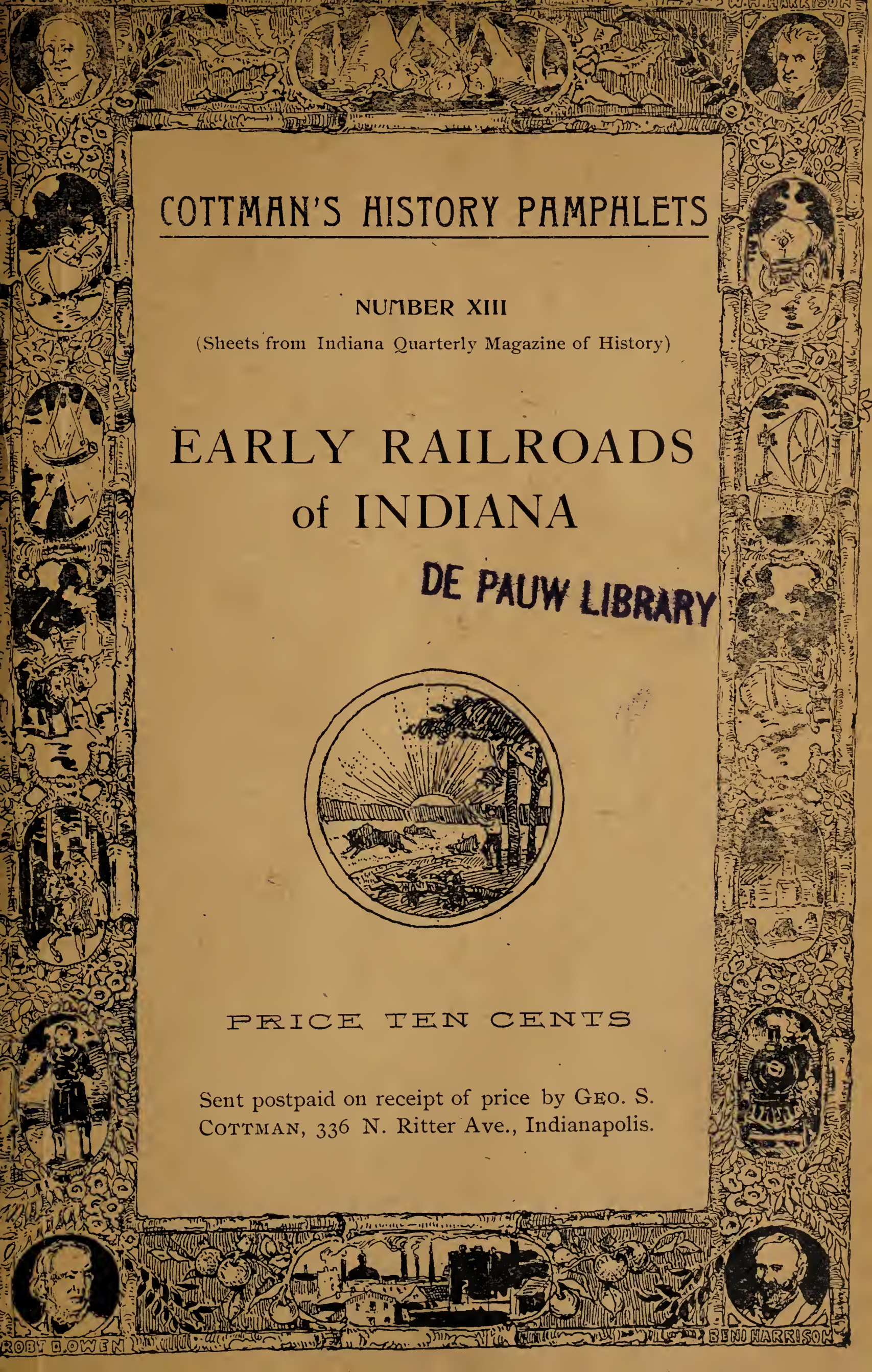
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INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS IN INDIANA.

No. IV—RAILROADS.

THE railroad in Indiana and the part it has played in the development of the commonwealth might well afford material for a volume. Here we can not pretend to more than a brief outline sketch, but in that sketch we shall attempt to touch upon the various phases of development in their due relations and make obvious the vast importance of this factor in transportation.

MOVEMENTS PRELIMINARY TO THE RAILROAD ERA.

The steam railroad in the United States, in its first crude, experimental status, was about five years old when the spreading interest becomes traceable in Indiana. The startling proposition that the ancient difficulties of transportation by land could be vastly lightened by a mechanical force, born of simple fire and water, that should convey great loads at an unheard-of speed, did not convince the conservatives as to its practicability, and it required something like courage to exploit it. One of our first men publicly to advocate it was Governor James B. Ray, who, along with his many curious aberrations, seems to have been gifted with real insight and prevision. As early as 1827 he advanced an argument for railways as against canals, and even advocated a line from Lawrenceburgh up the White-water valley to connect with the National Road. In his legislative message of 1830 he suggested the union of the lakes with the Ohio river by the grand scheme of a railroad from Detroit river across Michigan to Lake Michigan, thence, by way of Indianapolis, to the Ohio; and he further pointed out that the terminus at Louisville of the Lexington & Ohio railroad, which was then proposed, would seem to mark out that point as the proper southern terminus of an Indiana road. In this he re-

vealed a sagacity decidedly in advance of that of the Indiana legislature which, six years later, established such terminus at Madison. The falls of the Ohio, with its three cities of Jeffersonville, New Albany and the Kentucky metropolis, and not the city of Madison, was undoubtedly the logical stopping-place for our first road, as is proved by the fact that the Madison road was ultimately swallowed up by the line between Jeffersonville and Indianapolis. Governor Ray's opulence of imagination led him into schemes and predictions that in his day passed for the rankest whimsicality. According to one of his biographers, he dreamed of a "grand scheme of railroad concentration at Indianapolis. Here was to be the head of a score of radiating lines. At intervals of five miles were to be villages, of ten miles towns and of twenty miles respectable cities." Subsequent history shows that the vagaries of a "crazy" man sometimes out-run the wisdom of his generation.

By 1831 the railroad idea was beginning to ferment. Ray in his message of that year speaks of lines that "are contemplated from Cincinnati and from Louisville to Indianapolis," and a legislative report from a committee on canals and internal improvements discusses the practicability of railroads as compared with canals. Public interest was promoted at this period, doubtless, by the exhibitions of a Kentucky genius, one Joseph Bruen, who traveled about with a miniature locomotive and coach and a portable track with which he demonstrated to the curious the wonderful possibilities of the steam engine by drawing his little coach full of people around his runway. This was the first locomotive to turn wheels in Indiana.

In 1832, for some reason not quite clear, there was a sudden, not to say spasmodic, impulse toward this form of internal improvement, as is indicated by the fact that this year eight different railroads were chartered by the Indiana legislature. This preliminary craze grew. In such history as we have upon the subject it is customarily represented that the construction of the Madison & Indianapolis road under the State's aid marks the very beginning of our railroad era; but it is an interesting though now quite forgotten fact, that before the State essayed that task at all the legislature was deluged with applications and something like thirty charters were granted to would-be

railroad corporations. These corporations were composed of the enterprising and public-spirited citizens of many communities all over the State, and the roads, had they all materialized, would have pretty well provided the various sections of the State with transportation routes. Even at that day the future importance of the capital as a railway town was, in a sense, foreshadowed, as eight of the proposed roads were to connect with Indianapolis. These incipient ventures may be mentioned more specifically. The first six charters were granted simultaneously by an act of February 2, 1832, and these were the Lawrenceburgh & Indianapolis; the Madison, Indianapolis & Lafayette; the Ohio & Lafayette (from falls of the Ohio via Salem to Lafayette); the Wabash & Michigan (from Lafayette to the site of Michigan City); the Harrison & Indianapolis (via Brookville and Rushville), and the New Albany, Salem, Indianapolis & Wabash. Immediately on the heels of these came the Richmond, Eaton & Miami and the Ohio & Indianapolis (Jeffersonville to Indianapolis via Columbus). The legislature following seems to have done nothing in this line, but that of 1833-'34 chartered the Evansville & Lafayette (to follow the Wabash valley); the Indianapolis & Lafayette (via Crawfordsville); the Leavenworth & Bloomington; the Indiana Northwest Railroad Company (from Michigan City to the National Road on the west side of the Wabash at Terre Haute), and a short road connecting New Albany and Jeffersonville. In 1835 Charlestown thought to relieve the handicap of its inland situation by a little steam road to the Ohio river, and the list was further swelled by the Buffalo & Mississippi (to cross the northern part of the State); the Indianapolis & Montezuma, and the Michigan City & Kankakee (to connect Lake Michigan with the navigable waters of the Kankakee). A year later followed the Crawfordsville, Covington & Illinois; the Princeton & Wabash; the Perrysville & Danville (Ill.); the Lafayette & Danville; the Bethlehem & Rockford (from Bethlehem, in Clark county, to Rockford, in Jackson county); the Jeffersonville & Vernon; and the Madison & Brownstown. In 1837 came the Michigan City & St. Joseph (Mich.); the Indianapolis & Michigan City; the Hudson (Laporte county) & New Buffalo (Mich.); the Ft. Wayne & Piqua (O.), and the Mount Carmel & New Albany.

These incorporations, extending over a period of five years, mark the railroad movement preliminary to any real construction. While the number of them and corresponding number of promoters drawn into the ventures would seem to indicate a strong tide of sentiment in favor of this innovation in transportation, there are further indications that capital generally and public confidence were slow to respond. With all the rush for charters little was done beyond an occasional sporadic stirring of the question by some local paper and, perhaps, an uncertain amount of surveying. The "little" referred to was to the credit of the Lawrenceburgh & Indianapolis company, which, as appears by the records, was the most energetic of the various companies and which, in 1854, actually got down to work. To this company belongs the honor of introducing the railroad in Indiana. The Madison & Indianapolis line is credited with the distinction of being the pioneer road, but as a matter of fact, before the Madison road was taken up by the State, and while the old Madison company was practically sacrificing its charter, the L. & I. company was surveying, constructing and establishing data for future roads. The construction was on an experimental strip of road, one and one-fourth miles in length, in the neighborhood of Shelbyville. The first railroad report in the State was, we believe, the one transmitted to the legislature by this company under date of December 5, 1834. It is a document of some interest. The implication is that the locality at Shelbyville was chosen because the cuts, embankments and other problems for the engineer at that point represented a fair average for experimental data. There was "one cut of five feet, one embankment of five feet and of one of ten, two curves and two bridges." The cost was \$1500 per mile. Of course there was no locomotive for the road, and in lieu thereof a horse-car was built and the great advantages of a track in facilitating traction was effectively demonstrated, if we can believe the statement that "one horse was found able to draw forty to fifty persons at the rate of nineteen miles per hour." This road was "opened" on the Fourth of July, 1834, at an expense of \$222.12½ for the car and \$12.62 for horses and drivers, \$60 of which was returned to the promoters in fares from those who treated themselves to a ride over the new road. Local tradition says that the occasion

was additionally celebrated by an old-time barbecue. This report, which is over the signature of James Blake, "President pro tem.," argues vigorously for the advantages of railroads and presents figures that purport to show that railroad transportation as compared with rates by wagon, etc., would save in one year nearly a quarter of a million dollars to ten specified counties, the estimates being based upon current tonnage and rates. The new values that would be given to stone, timber and firewood for steam mills is also dwelt upon, as are the prospects for liberal dividends to stockholders.

These arguments but reinforced others, equally ardent, advanced two years before by John Test, then president of the L. & I., who contributed to the *Indiana Palladium*, beginning March 17, 1832, a series of articles on railroads which are among the first if not the first elaborate discussions of the subject in the Indiana press. As presented by him, the L. & I. was to be a "link in a great chain," that was to be extended from Cincinnati to St. Louis by way of Indianapolis.

With all the zeal and enterprise of its promoters, however, the L. & I. company was doomed to delays many and vexatious ere it accomplished its dream of a connection with Indianapolis and the interior of the State. The difficulties of financing railroads at this stage of progress was probably the fatal obstacle to all these early ventures.* Public sentiment as expressed in the confidence of capitalists was not yet ripe, but the ripening process was slowly going on. Everybody realized that better transportation facilities were an ever-pressing need, but the cost of building and maintaining railroads seemed something prodigious. The problem took the form of a choice between improved wagon roads, canals and railroads, and there was frequent discussion of the respective merits of these. The macadam turnpike, which was much considered, was, of course, by far the cheapest of these improvements in localities where the material for it was to be found, but in other localities it was prohibitive. In the discussions the respective advantages of canals and railroads seemed to be about balanced. As to first cost, the argument was, perhaps, in favor of the railroad, as railroads were

*It may be added here that the development of the State at this period could not have supported these railroads had they been built.

then constructed, but in the building of the latter the cost was far more hypothetical than that of canals, with which engineers were more familiar. The expensive machinery for locomotion and the vehicles for carriage, together with the frequent repairs on these and on the roadbed, made the cost of maintenance of the railroad formidable and problematical, but the canals, from floods and other causes, were also subject to expensive repairs. The enormous tonnage that could be moved with small and cheap motor power was vastly in favor of the canal, but offsetting this the railroad offered the no small advantage of time saved by swift conveyance. Again, canals in our northern latitude would be put wholly out of service during the more severe winter months, while railroad service, comparatively independent of weather contingencies, would be continuous. Another consideration was that railroad machinery and much of the material for construction, being imported, took money out of the country, while money expended on canals remained here; and, finally, the water-power afforded by canals as a "by-product" built up mills and other industries along their lines.

These were the arguments, in brief, that were put before capitalists and the people during that uncertain period when the transportation problem was pressing for solution and the financial and social conditions counseled conservatism and prudence. That the practically untried railroad won but slowly over the better-known canal is evidenced by the fact that when the State finally took up a system of public works there were included in it four canals and only one railroad—the famous "Madison" road.

THE MADISON & INDIANAPOLIS ROAD.*

The earlier years of the Madison & Indianapolis railroad present a phase of railroad history that is unique, at least in this State. It was one of the first roads incorporated, its charter bearing the same date as that of the Lawrenceburgh & Indianapolis. For four years, as a private corporation, it lay all but dormant, so far as actual performance was concerned. Just why the

*A history of Jefferson county now being prepared by Miss Drusilla L. Cravens, of Madison, devotes a long chapter to the Madison & Indianapolis railroad which, when published, will probably be the most thorough history of the road that has appeared in print. The sketch we here present deals with this special history only so far as it is essential to our more general subject.

State took Madison under its wing is a story lost to history now, unless it might be dug up from contemporary newspaper files. As a matter of fact the Ohio river towns, notably Lawrenceburgh, Madison, Jeffersonville and New Albany, were lively and jealous rivals in all that pertained to their prosperity from the interior, and they were probably rivals for the State railroad as they had been for the Michigan road some years before. Lawrenceburgh, from its nearer approach to Cincinnati and the markets of the East, and the cities at the falls of the Ohio, that much nearer the Southern markets, were more logical points than Madison for railroad connection with the interior. But Madison got the Michigan road and she got the railroad, and the most reasonable inference seems to be that in the strenuous legislative "log-rolling" of that day her representatives were the most expert. However that may be, the chief factor in Madison's future prosperity (as it proved) was thus introduced, and the timid people who lacked the faith to build their own railroad hailed with enthusiasm the paternal undertaking, as if the big State in its might could do with impunity what private enterprise could not.

The State took up the work on a broad-guage plan, and at once. In 1836 the route was surveyed from Madison to Vernon, a distance of twenty-two miles, and ground was broken. The builders proceeded on the theory that the best was none too good, and instead of using the plain strap rail, then and for some years after in common use, a T rail was imported from England at an expense of \$80 per ton. In November, 1838, eight or nine miles of track having been completed, the road was formally "opened," the event being signalized by the presence of the Governor and other State officials, and distinguished citizens from far and near. A locomotive had been ordered of the Baldwin shops, at Philadelphia, and shipped via the gulf and rivers, but this was lost at sea, and in lieu of it a little engine named the "Elkhorn," owned by the Lexington & Ohio railroad, in Kentucky, was secured, brought from Louisville on a barge, hauled up the Michigan road hill by oxen, and put on the track at North Madison. An excursion was made over the new track and the affair wound up with a banquet and speeches. Railroad progress in the State being continuous from that day, this may be considered the real inauguration of the railroad age

in Indiana. The road was opened for traffic as far as Graham creek, about eighteen miles out, in April of 1839. At that time there were two roads in the West in operation—one from Lexington, Ky., to the Ohio river at Louisville (from which the "Elkhorn" had been secured), and another from Toledo, O., to Adrian, Mich., which was opened in 1836.* The Mad River & Lake Erie, running southward from Sandusky, O., was put in operation the same year as the M. & I.

The State built twenty-eight miles of this road at the enormous cost of \$1,624,603, or something over fifty-eight thousand dollars per mile, then, the penalty for the statesmanship of 1836 being about due, it, along with the other public works, was suspended. The railroad was leased to private firms—first Branhams & Co., then Sering & Burt—who ran it for a percentage of the earnings. Then the State took hold of its business again only to find itself burdened more than ever with a "white elephant," and following that a transfer of the road was made to a private company with the agreement that the latter should take up anew the work of construction and complete it to Indianapolis. By way of aid this company was permitted to receive land in payment for shares of stock, and to issue scrip redeemable in this land. Land to the amount of 26,795 acres was subscribed, and \$96,200 in scrip issued. The work was pushed to completion, and on October 1, 1847, the first train steamed into Indianapolis in the midst of a jubilation as enthusiastic as that at Madison, in 1838, when the little "Elkhorn" was introduced to the curious public. It should be noted that the company constructed its part of the work at something less than \$11,000 per mile as against the \$58,000 of the State's expenditures. The engineering difficulties of the southern end were much greater than those further north, but by no means such as to account for the vast discrepancy.

The proprietorship of the M. & I. was now dual, the State and the company owning respectively the portions they had built, and the earnings were divided according to mileage. The story of this copartnership is one of protected monopoly and presents an interesting phase of the subject. It is dealt with at length in Miss Cravens's chapter above referred to, and need not

*Howe's Collections of Ohio, v. II, p. 412.

be dwelt upon here. Suffice to say that under it the State gained nothing, railroad construction elsewhere was unfairly retarded, and the Madison & Indianapolis Railroad Company, within a few years, waxed fat off its advantages. The relationship lasted until 1852. Then the State sold out its interests to the company at a sacrifice, withdrew its protection, and at once proceeded to the passage of a general railroad law that opened the way to those rival lines that had been previously handicapped by the denial of fair charters. The result was fatal to the M. & I. The most formidable of those rivals, the Jeffersonville and the Lawrenceburgh roads, pushed forward their work and soon intercepted the trade of the Madison, carrying it to more advantageous points on the Ohio; simultaneously, the Bellefontaine, which had been building for three or four years, made a direct connection with the East by way of Ohio roads, and soon thereafter the Indiana Central did the same. Meanwhile the M. & I. steadily declined,* finally (in 1862) was sold out by the United States marshal, and not long after became the property of the Jeffersonville road. Since then the Madison end of the line is but a branch of the main road.

OTHER EARLY RAILROADS.

After four or five years of vicissitudes the Madison & Indianapolis railroad began to justify its existence as a business venture. Between the years 1843 and 1849, according to Chamberlin's *Indiana Gazetteer*, its annual receipts steadily increased from \$22,110 to \$235,000, and the daily travel from 25 to 200 passengers. After its completion to Indianapolis, in 1847, its real prosperity set in and until 1852 its volume of business increased phenomenally, its financial success being indicated by the fact that in the year last mentioned its stock sold for \$1.60.† This practical object lesson had its effect as a stimulus, and the "railroad fever" of the early fifties is a well-known chapter of

*The report of President E. W. H. Ellis for 1854 (see *Documentary Journal* for that year) as a piece of *naïve* literature is unique among official reports. The burden of the president's wail is that the State, in passing a law which "opened the door for the construction of other railroads," was instrumental in inflicting serious damage on the M. & I., through competition that at once sprang up. The long-protected M. & I. seemed to regard this as a breach of faith on the part of its erstwhile protector.

†Holloway's Indianapolis.

our railroad history. Pretty nearly every section of the State caught the disease and proceeded to build railroads at an astonishing rate. Prior to 1850 the only railroad in operation in Indiana was the Madison & Indianapolis. By the latter part of that year the Bellefontaine had completed 28 miles; the Jeffersonville, 16; the Knightstown & Shelbyville, 27; the Rushville & Shelbyville, 20; the New Albany & Salem, 35; and the Shelbyville branch of the M. & I., 16; making, with the original 86 miles of the M. & I., a total of 238, according to the U. S. census. Governor Wright, in his message of December 31, 1850, says: "We have 212 miles of railroad in successful operation, of which 124 were completed the past year. There are more than 1000 miles of railroad surveyed and in a state of progress. There are now," he says, "\$1,000,000 of corporate stock taken in the State, in railroads, by cities and counties, and from the present excitement in different parts of the State the amount will be largely increased the coming season."* On the maps of Indiana for 1852 and 1853 we find almost a score of roads traversing the country in all directions, most of them being then in operation. These are the Madison & Indianapolis, the Terre Haute & Indianapolis, the Lafayette & Indianapolis, the Peru & Indianapolis, the Indianapolis & Bellefontaine, the Indiana Central, the Indianapolis, Lawrenceburgh & Cincinnati, and the Jeffersonville, all directly tributary to Indianapolis. Others are the New Albany & Salem, traversing the length of the State, from New Albany to Michigan City; the Northern Indiana (Michigan Southern); the Cincinnati & Lawrenceburgh (Ohio & Mississippi), to Vernon; the Junction (C., H. & D.) from eastern State line to Rushville, and the Richmond & New Castle, from Richmond to Anderson, with continuous connections to Kokomo, Logansport and the New Albany & Salem road at a point in Stark county. Other roads and branches, the names of which are not given, are from Evansville to Vincennes, Martinsville to Franklin, Edinburg to Shelbyville and Rushville, Michigan City to Chicago, and Peru to Elkhart.†

*With a distrust born of the State's past experience, the Governor deprecates this dabbling in stocks with public funds, and maintains that railroads should be entirely private enterprises.

†Few, if any, of these roads now retain their original names.

BEGINNINGS OF A SYSTEM.

It may be noted that the combined mileage of these roads and the areas they served were much in excess of that contemplated in the famous internal improvement system which the State had hoped to establish fifteen years before. An examination of the routes shows that not only were the various sections and principal cities of the State put into communication with each other, but systems of trunk lines were beginning to be knit that reached out to remoter points and to the great markets that were so necessary to the State's prosperity. The Terre Haute, Cincinnati, Indiana Central and Bellefontaine roads, connecting with roads in other States, were or were soon to become links in continuous lines binding the Mississippi river to the Atlantic seaboard; the New Albany & Salem connected the Ohio river and the great lakes, while the Madison, Jeffersonville and Peru roads, with extensions northward soon to follow, did the same. Two other lines built a little later, one being completed in 1856 and the other in 1857, were the Pittsburgh, Ft. Wayne & Chicago and the Toledo, Wabash & Western, which were important additions to the new transportation system. The latter, having its eastern terminus at Lake Erie, threaded the Wabash valley to Williamsport, in Warren county, thence passed to the Mississippi river. In its route through this State it paralleled the Wabash & Erie canal, and demonstrated directly and strikingly the relative values of the two great methods of transportation. The railroad ruined the canal. After the year 1856 the rents and tolls from the latter fell steadily off till, from \$113,423.47 in the last-named year the returns in 1874 were but \$7,179.61. Back of this, of course, lay the decreasing traffic by boat. Not only passenger travel but the greater part of the imports and much of the export trade was shifted to the more expeditious mode of conveyance, and only the bulkier goods, such as grain and lumber, which were the least profitable, were left to the canal boats. As this kind of tonnage was mostly exports, the boats that carried it out frequently had to return empty—a condition that was fatal to profits and the life of the canal trade. In a word, the canal, as opposed to the railroad, was a failure, and was passing into desuetude.

INFLUENCES OF THE RAILROAD.

The influence of the railroad throughout the State was marked, not to say phenomenal. A striking illustration of it was afforded by the rise and decline of Madison. Between 1840 and 1850 the population of this city increased from 3798 to 7000. In the early fifties, in point of commerce, wealth, culture and general status, she was easily the leading city of Indiana, and the chief factor in creating such preeminence was the old Madison railroad draining down to that point, as it did for a dozen years, all the trade of the interior. For one thing, it became a pork market, second only to Cincinnati, the "Porkopolis" of the West. Practically all the travel into the interior from the East and South was by way of Madison and her railway, and she became known as the "gateway to the State." The decline of her road after 1852, by the deflection of trade to other roads, marks the beginning of her decline, and, outstripped as she has been by other towns of the State, she now stands in history as an object lesson, proving how the railroads can make and unmake cities. Richmond, between 1850 and 1860, gained over 5000 in population, advancing, meanwhile, to a manufacturing city of quite respectable proportions. A like stimulus can be traced in Ft. Wayne, Lafayette, Terre Haute and other towns that were on important lines. Not the least notable of the many effects was the rearrangement, so to speak, of the centers of population. Under the old order, navigable waters, good mill seats and topographical considerations were important factors in determining settlements, but now the centers that sprang up were strung along the new overland routes of travel and many of the river towns that had aspired to ascendancy were left to dwindle in isolation. As, in the first instance, the leading towns already in existence determined the location of the railroad routes, so to a greater degree did these routes determine the location and multiply the number of the smaller towns. The early roads, when surveyed, passed through comparatively few towns other than county seats, yet Governor Ray's dream of a town or village every five miles has long since been practically fulfilled. Along with the growth of urban populations and transportation advantages went an industrial development, and from a purely agri-

cultural State Indiana began to make a showing in the manufactures,* and her natural resources, many of which had lain in primeval uselessness because of the transportation difficulties, now began to engage the attention of capitalists. Real estate took on new values. The advantages to the State generally were set forth by the president of the M. & I. road at the time Indiana was trying to get out of the entanglement with her railroad. Even if she had paid enormously for her road and had sold out for a pittance, it was plausibly argued, the vast enhancement in property values and the corresponding returns from taxation, due directly to this railroad, far outweighed the seeming loss.† This was doubtless true, and it indicates, in part, the immeasurable effect upon the commonwealth of the railroads collectively.

THE RAILROADS AND INDIANAPOLIS.

But the most notable, perhaps, of the stimulating effects of the railroads within the State was the part they played in the development of Indianapolis. From the first charters of the early thirties, as has been shown, the capital, located as it was, was recognized as a logical railroad center, and among those

*A reference to statistics shows the effect of the railroads upon manufactures. The Indiana Gazetteer for 1850 gives the manufactured products of the year as aggregating in value \$19,199,681, while these values for the next ten years, according to the census of 1860, averaged \$41,840,434, with a total of 20,755 hands employed in manufacturing industries. Taken by counties, those that show the heavy investments are, almost without exception, those that have the railroad advantages. Jefferson and Wayne lead all the others, the former with \$1,117,699 of invested capital.

The important relation of the railroad to commercial prosperity is illustrated by what was known as the "Erie war," which occurred in 1853. At that time the railroads had not established a uniform guage (width between the rails), and a break of guage at Erie, Pa., which was in the line of travel between the East and the West, necessitated not only a transfer of all through passengers at that point, but of all freight traffic as well. The profit in this to the town of Erie and the corresponding inconvenience and expense to travelers and shippers resulted in serious friction. Erie seemed to think that her transferring industry was a vested right, and that the rest of the world could go hang, and when an attempt was made to unify the guage her citizens forcibly interfered with the laying of rails in the streets. The wrath in the West at Erie's hoggishness and the execrations heaped upon the town by the press and in indignation meetings were loud and universal. The *Indianapolis Journal* for December 17, 24, 25 and 28, 1853, gives glimpses of the public feeling.

‡In justly estimating what seems the State's signal failure at railroad building, the above results should be considered, and also the fact that, but for its taking up the task, railroad construction in the State would probably have been delayed several years. The lack of public confidence and the difficulties of capitalizing were amply proved in the thirties. An actual experiment—an object lesson—was needed to establish faith. This the State supplied, and the result was the impulse of the fifties.

built in the early fifties not less than eight focussed there. In the history of the place a distinct period begins with 1847, when the M. & I. road established a connection with the Ohio river. From that date it proceeded to evolve from the status of an ordinary country town to that of a city with multiplied and growing activities. The particulars of this transition was graphically set forth by the author of "Holloway's Indianapolis." The business of the town, he says, was purely local. "It produced little and it distributed little. A small amount of 'jobbing' was done in an irregular way among the small dealers and manufacturers of the neighboring towns, but it was neither large enough or certain enough to be considered a branch of trade. The manufacturing, except for home demand, was even more trifling than the mercantile business. Occasional attempts had been made at iron, wool, oil, tobacco, hemp, and even ginseng manufacture, but none of them amounted to much or lasted long." With the opening of the Madison road, "there was a change of features, of form, a suggestion of manhood, a trace of the beard and voice of virility. Manufactures appeared; 'stores' that had formerly mixed up dry goods, groceries, grain, hardware, earthenware and even books in their stock, began to select and confine themselves to one or two classes of their former assortment. * * * Business showed its growth in its divisions; the price of property advanced; a city form of government was adopted; a school system was inaugurated. Everybody felt the impulse, without exactly feeling its direction, of prosperity. * * * New hotels, manufactories and business houses also appeared. The Bates House and Sherman House were built; Osgood & Smith's peg and last factory, Geisendorff's woollen mill, Drew's carriage establishment, Shellenbarger's planing-mill and Macy's pork-house swelled our industries, and various blocks, schoolhouses, railroad shops and other buildings were added to our improvements." A glance at the local press of the fifties confirms this description of prosperity and bustle. Three-fourths of the space, seemingly, was taken up by advertisements; the columns were dotted with little cuts of engines and cars, with accompanying time-tables; pictures of trains were incorporated in the newspaper heads, and a

semi-literary weekly, the first of its kind in the city, saw fit to take the name *The Locomotive*.

This sudden quickening proved to be no passing phase, for before two decades of the railroad era had passed Indianapolis, the railroad center, had become the chief city of the State, "hopelessly ahead of all rivalry, the seat of the most numerous, varied and productive manufactories, and the distributing center of a trade probably unequaled by any city in the Union of the same population." The continuation of this process of growth, the establishment of a still wider circle of connections and the addition of the interurban transportation system with the wonderful changes it is now effecting is a matter of common knowledge which passes chronologically beyond the scope of this study.

THE UNION DEPOT.

With the first centering of railroads at Indianapolis the desirability of a plan whereby, for the convenience of through passenger traffic, these roads could be made continuous in their connections, presented itself, and an account of the inception and development of this plan, which seems to have been original with the parties mentioned, is thus given by Mr. W. N. Jackson in the *Indianapolis Journal* for July 29, 1900:

"Chauncy Rose, of the Terre Haute & Richmond; John Brough, of the Madison & Indianapolis, and Oliver H. Smith, of the Bellefontaine line, met in their office in the middle of the Circle in 1850, and planned and carried into execution soon after, a Union Station at Indianapolis, and erected the first one that was ever built. For this a union track was needed from the middle of Tennessee street northeasterly to the middle of Washington street at Noble street, and the right of way for which was taken by the Terre Haute & Richmond to Pennsylvania street, and from there onward northeasterly to the center of Washington street by the Bellefontaine and Peru roads. A few miles of each road had been made previous to this. The right of way from the Madison & Indianapolis depot on South street to Meridian street was given by Austin W. Morris. The right of way from Pennsylvania street to New Jersey street was purchased from Mrs. McCarty. The Union Station was opened Septem-

ber 20, 1853, the building being finished at that period. Mr. Chauncy Rose was president of the company and Mr. W. N. Jackson, secretary, treasurer and ticket agent.

"The Lawrenceburgh & Upper Mississippi railroad entered this station in the spring of 1854 as the Indianapolis & Cincinnati Railroad Company; the Indiana Central at the same time and the Lafayette a little later, followed by the Indianapolis & Vincennes, the Indianapolis, Bloomington & Western, the Indianapolis, Decatur & Springfield, the Cincinnati, Hamilton & Indianapolis, and the Monon branch of the Louisville, New Albany & Chicago roads."

The Union Company owned all the tracks in the city and the Union Depot independently of the various roads as such. The old building, which was planned by General T. A. Morris, was originally 420 feet long by 120 wide, but afterward (in 1866) was made 200 feet wide. It was replaced by the present building in 1887-'08.

THE BELT RAILROAD.

The centering of twelve or thirteen railroads at Indianapolis caused, by the seventh decade, a congestion of traffic at that point that embarrassed the city and called for a remedy. The remedy developed in the shape of a separate road located beyond the outskirts of the city and that encircled it sufficiently to connect with all the lines that entered, and by this "Belt Road," as it was called, freight was and is transferred from one road to another without entering the city. The idea is said to have been a new one and the Indianapolis Belt Road the first one of the kind ever built. The real originator and earliest promoter of the plan has received very little credit for the part he played as the "first cause" of this important work. The written history of it begins with the organization of the company in 1873, but at least three years before that time the scheme was fermenting in the mind of Joel F. Richardson, a practical railroad man, who for more than fifteen years had been identified with construction in Indiana. This is revealed by diaries and other documents left by Mr. Richardson, and now in possession of his daughters in Irvington, Indianapolis. One statement of Mr. Richardson's as written down by his daughter at the time it was made is as follows:

"Coming up from Cincinnati one day in 1870, there was a car off the track at Walter's mill. While waiting there I had a talk with John H. Lozier about the Fletcher property in Indianapolis, he being one of the trustees. He said that as the property was in the south part of the city it would not amount to much on account of having to cross the railroads to get to or from it. I took from my pocket my drawing of the Circle Railroad and explained its necessity and my idea about it. Mr. Lozier was favorably impressed with it, and I asked him to write a piece about it for the paper to place it before the public."

Reverting back to that period the Misses Richardson remember as children this, to them, mysterious drawing of the "Circle" road and the explanations of the same as made by their father. Mr. Lozier, the daughters think, published an article in one of the Indianapolis papers about 1871 or 1872. The matter then seems to have rested until 1873, when it was taken up anew and briskly pushed. In one of the diaries above referred to the first entry is:

"*Friday, Jan. 10, 1873.* Stayed at the Mason House over night. Called on Col. Farquhar and showed him my plan for a railroad around the city."

On subsequent dates, as shown by the diary, he was busy presenting his plan to other capitalists and railroad men, from one of whom, Dillard Ricketts, he received especial encouragement. Ricketts told him to "go on and work the matter up and he would furnish money for the enterprise." Other entries show that in February he walked over the ground bordering the city, prospecting for a route. By August a company was formed and incorporated, and from that date Richardson's dream began to materialize.

The following sketch of the road was written by Charles Test Dalton as a contribution to the "Indiana Centennial Association" which celebrated July 4, 1900, by a historical meeting at the State House.* It was published in the *Indianapolis Journal*

*This "Centennial Association," which has been mentioned before in this magazine, never held any meetings other than the one here referred to. A number of valuable historical papers were prepared for the occasion by competent persons. These were local in their character, and most or all of them were subsequently published in the *Journal*. The meeting was under the auspices of the Indiana Historical Society, but its chief if not sole promoter was Gen. John Coburn, who urgently solicited the preparation of the papers.

for August 26, 1900. Mr. Dalton took the pains carefully to interview men who had been intimately connected with the Belt Railroad enterprise, and his sketch is the fullest and most reliable of which we have knowledge:

"A corporation was formed in August, 1873, of which Henry C. Lord was president, to construct a Belt road and stockyards on the present lines. On September 10, 1873, the McCarty heirs conveyed to this corporation a strip of ground one hundred feet in width, running from the Vandalia Railroad through to the river on the present line, containing more than twenty acres, as shown in deed recorded in Land Record 20, page 294, according to the conditions therein named. Articles of association incorporating the Indianapolis Belt Railway Company were filed April 9, 1873, in the office of the Secretary of State, to construct a railroad connecting the different railroads leading into the city. The then over-crowded tracks of the Union Railroad Company, over which all freight, as well as passenger cars, were brought to the city, suggested the importance of the same. The directors for the first year named therein were Addison L. Roach, Thomas D. Kingan, John H. Farquhar, Elijah B. Martindale, Joel F. Richardson, Milton M. Landis, Henry C. Lord, John Thomas and William Coughlen. H. C. Lord was elected president of the company and Joel F. Richardson, superintendent. The latter, it was said, was the first to suggest building the railroad.

"Early in September Mr. Henry C. Lord, as president of the company, proposed to Nicholas McCarty that if he and the other McCarty heirs, owners of the real estate lying between Oliver avenue and the Vincennes railroad and that between the Vincennes railroad and the river, would give the right of way through all such real estate, McCarty might select one of the three routes named by Mr. Lord on which the right of way should be located. Negotiations relative to the matter resulted in the conveyance by deed September 10, 1873, to this company of a strip of ground one hundred feet in width, running through all the said real estate on the present line of the Belt Railroad proper, containing about twenty acres, and being 8,800 feet long, as shown in deed recorded in Land Record 20, page 294, according to the conditions named therein. The company proceeded

to make the roadbed through the strip, first working on it between the Vincennes railroad and Oliver avenue. Soon afterward the panic came, all work was discontinued and was not resumed until some time thereafter, when money, it was said, was furnished by Mr. Thomas D. Kingan, and the company continued the work on the roadbed east of the Vincennes railroad. Some little time thereafter all operations were again discontinued, and, the company failing to meet the conditions of the deed, the whole strip reverted to the grantors, a decree in the Marion Superior Court, cause No. 14676, against the Indianapolis Belt Railway Company, Thomas D. Kingan and others, quieted the title in the McCarty heirs. This strip of ground is all the company ever secured for a right of way. Nothing further as to work on the embankment or any of the right of way was ever done under the direction of the Indianapolis Belt Railway Company.

“At that time Indianapolis was a city of barely over 50,000 people, a prosperous overgrown country town, of conservative people and plain dwellings, separated in a measure from the bustle of the outside world and caring nothing whether this or that city outgrew it; consequently there was little waste of nervous energy, no booms and few local strikes. This feeling of security had built up a residence city and one of solid wealth, and the fact that homes were built here by hard labor instilled in all classes a feeling of proprietorship. And this is why the great financial panic of 1873 did not reach Indianapolis until several years later, but the inevitable day dawned at last. It was a serious hour, and had to be handled in a firm manner and by a strong hand. The man arose to the occasion; he successfully averted a labor war and incidentally gave to this city a gift the value of which he could hardly hope would prove the greatest industry of this city. But the test of twenty-three years has proved his judgment. The enterprise was the Indianapolis Belt Railroad and Stockyards Company, and the man who thought out this project was the Hon. John Caven. He was mayor of the city, and endeavored to devise some plan whereby he might give labor to the unemployed and at the same time build something which would not merely be an ornament to the city, but which would bring in revenue to repay itself and

in the future increase in value. This would be accomplished in building a great belt road around the city in connection with the various railroads entering from all directions and connecting it with a large stockyard from which immense shipments could be received and sent to other parts of the country. This plan, therefore, furnished labor to the unemployed, brought a great cattle market to Indianapolis and a large amount of taxable property; and all of this was not the act of a speculator or a promoter, but of a man who cared for his city and his people so much that he would accept no stock in the concern when he could have done so justly and have acquired a fortune.

“When the details of the enterprise had been thoroughly gone over Mayor Caven drew up the Belt road message and read it before the Council on July 17, 1876. It was published in the papers, where it caused considerable comment. Articles of association of the Union Railroad and Stockyards Company, dated August 29, 1876, were filed in the Secretary of State’s office. The directors for the first year named therein were J. C. Ferguson, John Thomas, W. C. Holmes, W. N. Jackson, E. F. Claypool, John F. Miller, M. A. Downing, Horace Scott and W. R. McKeen. The purpose of the same, as stated in these articles, was to ‘provide convenient methods for the transportation and transfer of freight and stock cars through, into and around the city of Indianapolis, and to effect the speedy, economical exchange of cars between all the railroads entering therein, or passing through; and for the erection and maintenance of ample stockyards for the accommodation of all the live stock that may be brought into or pass through said city.’ An ordinance contract was passed by the Council of Indianapolis on the petition of a majority of the citizens of Indianapolis, to be found in the volume of Indianapolis city ordinances, published in 1895, sections 1315 to 1324, both inclusive. The city of Indianapolis agreed to lend its credit to the company to the extent of \$500,000 in its bonds. After the passage of this ordinance, attorneys gave their opinion that bonds issued under the same would be invalid unless validated by an act of the Legislature, which act was passed by the Legislature, approved March 2, 1877. (See acts of 1877, page 116.) Many of our best citizens opposed the city lending its credit to the road, but a majority favored it.

The petition, signed by a majority of the citizens, was secured only after a faithful and energetic canvassing for two or three weeks of the whole city by committees from the various wards, and the validating act of the Legislature was secured after quite a struggle before the members and committees of the Legislature, by those in favor and those against the project. But it was finally passed by a large majority of both houses. Mr. Justus C. Adams, with other legislators from our county, was active in the support of the project, and perhaps more credit is due Mr. Adams than any one person in the Legislature that year for having secured the passage of the act.

“Under the ordinance contract the agreement between the Union Railroad Transfer and Stockyards Company and the city of Indianapolis (recorded in the recorder’s office October 20, 1877, in Mortgage Record 305, page 514), the city agreed to lend its credit in the way of issuing the city bonds to the amount of \$500,000. The Council passed the ordinance October 16, 1876, for the issuance of the city bonds, payable in twenty years, to be dated January 1, 1877, the Belt Railroad bonds to be given to the city to secure it against the payment of the bonds so issued by the city, dated December 1, 1876. The exchange of these bonds was to be made in accordance with said agreement. The mortgage securing the bonds so executed by the railroad company to the city was recorded in Mortgage Record 97, page 34. The Belt Railroad Company having paid off the bonds so issued by the city, the mortgage executed by the Belt Railroad and Stockyards Company to the city was released July 22, 1898. By a warranty deed of June 5, 1877, the McCarty heirs conveyed to the Union Railroad, Transfer and Stockyards Company a strip of ground 100 feet in width, running through their land from a point near the Vandalia Railroad to White river, and about 105 acres for the site of the stockyards. The track was very soon laid, and the buildings of the stockyards erected and inclosed, and business began at once. Afterward the name of the Union Railway and Stockyards Company was changed to that of the Belt Railroad and Stockyards Company, and on the 17th day of October the Belt Railroad proper was leased from the Belt Railroad and Stockyards Company by the Indianapolis Union Railway Company for a term of 999 years, beginning on the 1st day of May, 1884.

“August 10, 1895, the McCarty heirs sold and conveyed to James Cunning 29½ acres adjoining the old stockyards by deed recorded in Land Record 30, page 17. Afterward, by successive conveyances, this same land was conveyed to the Farmers’ and Drovers’ Stockyard Company, a corporation organized under the laws of Indiana. This corporation was formed in opposition, it was supposed, to the Belt Railroad and Stockyards Company, and, after proceeding to make some little improvements, it and Kingan & Co., who were supposed to be at the back of it, effected a settlement with the Belt Railroad and Stockyards Company, and conveyed to it the above 29½ acres October 16, 1895, (recorded in Land Record 30, page 109). So the two companies were consolidated, and by the settlement Kingan & Co. leased the porkhouse belonging to the old company and made a contract with the old company to continue to do their business with it, where they (Kingan & Co.) have contributed so largely to its success. This 29½ acres, so conveyed, added to the 105 acres, and the 20-acre strip of land above mentioned, make 154½ acres altogether which the Belt Railroad and Stockyards Company now owns. In the organization of the Belt Railroad and Stockyards Company, W. Riley McKeen, Horace Scott, E. F. Claypool, W. C. Holmes, M. A. Downing and others were prominent, and after the organization of the same, W. R. McKeen, Horace Scott, M. A. Downing and E. F. Claypool were the active managers of the company. Mr. Claypool, as secretary and treasurer of the company, managed the financial operations of the company with great skill, and perhaps no one is more entitled to credit for carrying the company through and placing it upon a solid foundation than he.

“The struggle of the company began with the city credit of \$500,000. A petition was signed by a majority of all the citizens requesting that the loan be made, and even then the ordinance was duly passed by the Council by a bare majority of one. This shows how strong was the opposition against the measure. And, after this it was declared that the bonds issued by the Council were invalid, and that it was necessary to procure an act of Legislature to secure their validity; which was done by an act approved March 2, 1877 (acts of 1877, p. 116). Despite the opposition the measure passed both houses of the Legisla-

ture by a large majority. The greatest difficulties seemed to have been surmounted, and the work of construction was begun. The company continued the work until June 1, when it was interrupted, at a most inopportune time, in the midst of serious labor troubles and when work was almost impossible to be found; and when men were depressed and desperate. It seems that certain land-owners were not satisfied with the amount of money awarded them for the right of way, and a contest in court ensued. This threw many men out of employment, and a decision of the courts would probably delay the work for months. In the meantime people might starve and serious trouble result. Then it was that Mayor Caven worked night and day. Trouble had been brewing for a long time, and it culminated on the evening of June 6, 1877, when a large meeting of the unemployed was called at the Statehouse grounds. In the afternoon a compromise was effected by the mayor, and he gained permission to continue the work irrespective of the pending lawsuit. As soon as this point had been gained he sought Mr. Claypool, who was secretary of the company at the time; Mr. Reed, the engineer, and Mr. Richardson, who had charge of the men. They agreed to go on with the work in the morning if they were furnished with sufficient men, and Mr. Caven promised to meet this deficiency. When the labor meeting gathered that evening there were nearly five hundred desperate men assembled, needing but the tongue of an anarchist to drive them to any act of folly. It was a critical period, more serious than the citizens imagined. The township trustee could give no more aid, and municipal funds were at a low ebb. In the stormy speeches which followed the crowd was urged to commit bloodshed, if necessary, for they must have food. Finally, they decided to march to the Governor the next morning and make a last appeal; if this was useless they would loot the stores. In the midst of the scene Mayor Caven entered the room alone. It was an act of bravery, and with difficulty could he gain a hearing. When the uproar had ceased he told the people they could go to work tomorrow morning, and requested order and obedience. It was a scene to be remembered, this sudden transition from hopelessness to surety. Men laughed and cried, they shouted and sang, and it was a glorious moment to the man who stood among

them, alone, the man who had been true to his office and had saved the people. Then the mayor said no one should go to bed hungry that night, and asked the people to follow him and he would look after them. Out in the darkness and down the street the crowd followed their leader. Several bakeries were visited and each man was given several loaves of bread. Then they disappeared silently down the street and everything was quiet. It was the passing of a crisis.

"This is the story of the formation of the Belt Railroad and Stockyards Company and it is evident that Mayor Caven is the man who deserves very great credit for this work, which is an honor to himself and to the city. As to the results which arose from this undertaking, there is only one word which seems to fit the purpose—stupendous. Nothing has paid so well or been of so great value as a single enterprise. Starting with a stock of 30 cents on a dollar, each year saw a rise in the percentage. In 1879 and 1880 the cash dividends were 10 per cent. on the face of the stock and in 1881 stock sold for \$1.50. One of the earliest stockholders paid \$15,000 for \$50,000 stock and by 1899 had received \$10,000 in dividends; two years later he sold his stock for \$75,000 cash." * * *

BRIEF SKETCHES AND NOTES.

From various sources, among them a series of sketches of the Indianapolis railroads written by Mr. John H. Holliday and published in the *Indianapolis Sentinel* in 1869 (see dates May 22, July 24, August 2, August 5 and August 25), we gather these additional items of information:

The Indianapolis and Lawrenceburgh.—This road (afterward known as the I., C. & L.), as has been stated, antedated in its actual beginnings every other Indiana road, but it was not completed to Indianapolis until 1853. Its difficulties and the character and effects of the opposition to it on the part of the M. & I. road would make an interesting chapter of our early railroad history, but the data for it seem to be lost now. We find just enough evidence to show that there was much illegitimate opposition, which was made effective by the aid of the State. By the Lawrenceburgh newspaper files of 1835 we find that the L. & I. Company, that had secured the charter for the road in 1832,*

*Holloway's Indianapolis gives the date of the first railroad charters as February, 1831. A reference to the statutes would have shown the writer that it was 1832.

was still alive and active. On July 23 of that year ground was broken at Lawrenceburgh with the accompaniment of a barbecue and public demonstration (see *Palladium* for July 25). There were letters from Henry Clay, O. H. Smith and others, and many toasts. Major J. P. Dunn was prominent in the festivities. It is worthy of note that the *Rising Sun Times* of contemporary date and correspondents to its columns were hostile to the whole scheme of the road, their animosity, seemingly, arising from the idea that the State was going to subsidize it at the expense of other sections. Its final completion, affording a connection with Cincinnati, was a most important commercial benefit, and no other road, perhaps, conduced more to the decadence of the Madison route. The *Indianapolis Journal* for December 19, 1853, says: "The freighting business on this new route is exceeding the most sanguine predictions of its projectors. The receipts for freight alone have been more than one thousand dollars per day for some time past. One day this week ninety-five cars arrived at Lawrenceburgh full of freight. More cars are being built and every care taken to push forward freight without delay." The receipts of the road the first year were \$299,433.66, and the second year this was nearly doubled. In the tables of tonnage we find corn, wheat, oats, rye and barley, iron, coal, lumber, staves, hooppoles, stone, stock, flour, whisky, salt and pork.

The Jeffersonville Road.—If the Lawrenceburgh road swallowed up a large part of the business previously enjoyed by the M. & I., the Jeffersonville line took another part and did still worse, for it finally swallowed up the M. & I. itself. Before it accomplished that anaconda feat, however, it had to wage a long and determined fight. Its original charter, wherein it was designated as the Ohio & Indiana Railroad Company, dates back to 1832. In common with the other roads then chartered, this project lay dormant for a long time. In 1837 it was saved from total extinction by a renewal of its charter with certain amendments, and again in 1846 by another renewal. This last charter authorized a capital of \$1,000,000, divided into shares of \$100 each, \$100,000 of which must be subscribed before the company could be organized. The time limit was thirteen months. Nothing was consummated. In 1848 the projectors again got together

and secured a more liberal charter, extending the time limit to five years and giving authority to extend the line not merely to Columbus, as had been previously granted, but to any other point in the State that might be desired—which was a very important concession, as Indianapolis was the desired terminus. At this period the potential energy that had kept the thing breathing through these years showed signs of real life. The \$100,000 was raised, the company organized, with William C. Armstrong, of Jeffersonville, as president, and in October of 1848 twenty-two miles of the road was put under contract.* By August of 1852 the fifty-two miles between Jeffersonville and Rockford was completed and put in operation, and soon after it reached Columbus, where it met the M. & I., and the real conflict between the two roads began. Mr. John W. Ray, in a contribution to the Indiana Centennial Association, thus speaks of the relations between them at this point:

“John Brough was the president of the Madison & Indianapolis railroad. He was brainy and strong-willed, and equally so was Armstrong. When the Jeffersonville road was nearing Columbus, Armstrong was anxious to form connection with the other road, and arranged the time-tables to this end. Brough changed his, and when the Jeffersonville train hove in sight it was only to see the other departing.”

The sequel was that Armstrong simply headed for Indianapolis, building his road parallel with the M. & I., and only a few yards away. By the time he reached Edinburg the M. & I., presumably, concluded that a control of the rest of the route was better than a division of the same. At any rate a compromise was effected by the laying of a switch between the two tracks and the Jeffersonville traffic passed over it. By this time the M. & I. had passed its heyday, its stock was depreciating, and the astute rival road was quietly buying up the same. To quote Mr. Ray again: “When the next election of the board of directors was held, the Jeffersonville Railroad Company elected a majority of the board, and the Madison & Indianapolis railroad was shortly after consolidated into the Jeffersonville, Madison & Indianapolis Railroad Company, and William G. Armstrong became president thereof.” This consolidation took place in

*In 1849 the name was changed to the Jeffersonville Railroad Company.

1866. The J., M. & I. was a particularly important road during the Civil War, it being the route for conveyance of troops and supplies to the South. During that period its carrying capacity was taxed to the utmost.

The Bellefontaine & Indianapolis.—This road, afterward known as the C., C., C. & I., and now as the Big Four, was among the most important of the early lines, particularly as it was the first to give Indianapolis an outlet to the East and to deflect trade in that direction. Says Mr. Holliday, in the *Sentinel* articles we have cited: "It is impossible to estimate the advantage this road has been to Indianapolis. For several years a great deal of the stock of the Bellefontaine company was owned here, and the road was run directly in the interest of the city. * * * But the great benefit conferred by the road has been in the large amount of travel and business brought through here, and which has, in one way and another, done much to build up the city." Its chief projector was Oliver H. Smith, who was its first president. Begun in 1848, it was by 1850 in operation as far as Pendleton, and was the second road running out of Indianapolis. Two years later it reached Union City, there making connection with an Ohio road and with points eastward. Prior to that it was a feeder to the Madison road, but afterward a formidable commercial rival.

The Peru & Indianapolis.—This road, the third that reached out from Indianapolis, was running to Noblesville by the spring of 1851 and reached Peru in 1854. Of it Mr. Holliday says: "Traversing, at first, a stretch of wilderness, and though a poorly constructed road with a history of repeated reverses, it yet helped materially to build up the country through which it ran. In its earlier days it brought into Indianapolis immense quantities of lumber, and, at a later day, much grain and produce." The Madison road, in its various attempts at self-preservation, effected a consolidation with the Peru soon after the completion of the latter, on the theory that a through route from the Ohio river to the Wabash & Erie canal, and thence by water to Lake Erie and the East would put it on a footing with its victorious rivals; but the merger did not work smoothly, and dissolved before long.

The Terre Haute & Indianapolis.—The Terre Haute & Richmond, as it was originally called, the next Indianapolis road to go into operation, was intended, as the name implies, to cross the State and connect the two cities mentioned. The original idea, as said on a previous page, was to establish a link in a through route that should, without break, reach from St. Louis to Cincinnati. On May 12, 1847, a railroad convention was held at Indianapolis attended by delegates from various counties in this State and from Ohio and Illinois, the object being to stir up this scheme for a trunk line. In addition to the consideration of the road from Terre Haute to Richmond, steps were taken to urge action on the part of Ohio, and a committee was appointed to memorialize the Illinois legislature for the passage of an act granting right of way through that State. One fatal obstacle to the consummation of the plan at this time, it is claimed, was the indifference and lack of support over the route between Indianapolis and Richmond. At any rate, the actual project, so far as Indiana was concerned, settled down to the Terre Haute & Indianapolis road, a brief sketch of which has been furnished us by Mr. W. H. Ragan, now of Washington City. Says Mr. Ragan:

“The people of Terre Haute, headed by the late Chauncy Rose, desiring to be put in easier communication with the State capital, agitated the question of a railroad to Indianapolis, and a company was formed, with Chauncy Rose as its president, to construct this road. With this beginning, some Indianapolis men were approached, including the late E. J. Peck. The latter became deeply interested in the undertaking, and soon after was elected president of the company, which position he held for a number of years. These preliminaries occupied several years. The first officers of the company, as I recall them, were: President, Chauncy Rose; vice-president, E. J. Peck; chief engineer, Thomas A. Morris. The country lying between Terre Haute and Indianapolis was an almost unbroken wilderness, the settlements were separated by extensive and gloomy forests, and only a few villages were scattered along the line of the National Road. The railroad left this latter highway at Plainfield, from which point to Greencastle but a few settlements were to be found, and beyond that place for a number of miles conditions were even worse. The locating of the road was a slow and tedious process,

several surveys being made before the present line was finally established.

“Vice-President Peck, always faithful, never abandoned the corps of engineers. He accompanied them through their task, and when it was completed no one understood better than he just what obstacles were yet to be encountered and overcome. He had made the acquaintance of many residents along the line, fully understood each one’s attitude toward the undertaking and knew whether he would grant the right of way through his possessions or obstruct to the bitter end, as many did, the building of the road. In this way he prepared himself for the troubles and litigation to follow. Then railroads could not make terms with property owners, as they can now, for right of way by condemnation proceedings. Concessions must be through compromise or by litigation. The latter was often resorted to and not infrequently an obstreperous land-owner forced the engineer, in order to avoid further difficulties, to deviate from his chosen line, by making a detour around the contested premises. In this way a road that should have been built as an air line, at least from Indianapolis to Greencastle, now has many annoying and dangerous curves in it. It was but natural for at least some of the farmers of that day to doubt the sincerity of the company in carrying out its undertaking. Some seemed to think the project too stupendous ever to be accomplished; others that the resources of the country were too limited to support such an undertaking.”

The Terre Haute & Indianapolis was opened for through business in February of 1852. Its receipts for the first year were \$105,943.87, and within sixteen years its business multiplied ten times, its agricultural tonnage being swelled by an increasing carriage of coal. It is said to have been the first railroad in the State to issue bonds.

The Indiana Central.—The “Panhandle,” as this road was subsequently called, now the P., C., C. & St. L., was the fulfillment of the old Terre Haute & Richmond idea, and followed it in such short time after the failure of the first company to push it through that the charge of indifference on the part of residents along the route could hardly have been true. It was begun in 1851 and completed in 1853, being the second to establish

(through Cincinnati) a connection with the East. It traversed one of the best sections of the State and was no small factor in developing that section, as well as Indianapolis.

Other Roads.—The Lafayette road, finished in 1852, was of especial service to Indianapolis as a connecting link between the Ohio river and Chicago. It was consolidated with the Cincinnati road in 1866. The "Junction" road, or C., H. & D., though begun in 1850, did not connect with Indianapolis till the latter sixties. The Vincennes road reached here about the same time, after a nominal existence of many years. This concludes the group of Indianapolis roads up to that date.

Names and Nicknames of Railroads.—Forty to sixty years ago there was something of a tendency to saddle railroads with sounding names that were grandiose, often, in proportion to the insignificance of the road. A writer in the *Indianapolis Press* for July 30, 1900, gives some of these samples of imposing verbiage. Some of the roads never existed except on paper. Such was the "Atlantic & Great Western," which was to run "all the way from Vincennes to Indianapolis," and the "American Central," which had a terminus in Ft. Wayne, and then, according to its articles of association, "wandered through the woods across the State and lost itself some place on the prairies of Illinois." The "Brazil, Bowling Green & Bloomfield, Northern & Southern Central Railway" was to be forty-six miles long, and the "Auburn & Eel River Valley" was to be twenty-four miles. A reversion to this verbal bolstering may be traced in the present "Chicago & Southeastern," which "does not go near Chicago and runs southwest." It was formerly known as the "Midland," and was famous among all the "jerk-water" roads of the State for its equipment and its ridiculous attempts to be a sure-enough railroad. In more recent times there has been a quite contrary tendency to brief nicknames, having usually some appropriate significance, and we have the "Big Four" (from the four big cities connected, Cleveland, Cincinnati, Chicago and St. Louis), the "Panhandle," the "Air Line," the "Clover Leaf," the "Nickel Plate," etc. The "Bee Line" of a generation ago, at first the Bellefontaine, was perhaps the first instance of this

kind of nomenclature. As an instance of facetious nicknaming, it is said that the Cambridge City branch of the J., M. & I., was once called the "Calico Road," because the workmen on it were paid in dry goods.

Early Railroad Equipment.—The first railroads in Indiana (except the first twenty-eight miles of the M. & I., which had imported "T" rails) were laid with "strap rails," which were simply bars of iron, about two and a half inches wide by five-eighths thick. These were spiked down to the wooden rails, as they were sometimes called, or continuous lines of oak stringers perhaps six inches square. Being secured near the inner edge of the stringers and the corner of the timber being chamfered off, the flanges of the wheels could not groove the wood. The stringers rested on cross-ties three or four feet apart, to which they were secured by strong wooden pins driven through auger-holes, and the ties, in turn, were supported by heavy timbers, or "mud-sills" which, laid end to end and bedded in the earth, afforded a foundation for the whole structure.* Other forms of construction were employed in some parts of the country, but, so far as we have been able to learn, the mode described was the only one in Indiana prior to the changes that came with improvements. The rolling stock was equally primitive. A locomotive, having at first neither cow-catcher nor cab,† weighed perhaps from ten to thirteen tons, as against the seventy-five or one hundred tons of to-day, and was capable of hauling twelve or fifteen cars holding three tons each. Twenty miles an hour for passenger trains was a high rate of speed. There is record, in 1840, of an engine drawing 221 tons forty miles in three hours and forty-one minutes. The development of the locomotive was retarded by the frail character of the tracks, as their weight crushed the yielding flat bar into the wood and loosened the spikes. The strain, moreover, very frequently caused the loosened rails to curl upward at the ends, threatening punctures and derailment, and these "snake-heads," as they were called, had to be constantly guarded against. A

*Query: Did the general use of "mud-sills" in railroad construction give rise to the colloquial term as applied to the man who belongs to the sub-stratum of society?

†The innovation of a protecting cab was at first objected to by the enginemen, as a dangerous trap in case of accident.

not uncommon occurrence was the stopping of trains till the trainmen went ahead with a sledge-hammer to spike down rails. There were other causes of delay not down on the schedules, among them being the stoppage at some wayside stream or pool to replenish the water supply by dipping up with leathern buckets that were carried on hooks at the side of the tender. It is a plausible guess that from this job of the trainmen originated the humoristic appellation of "jerk-water," so commonly applied to cheap and out-of-date roads. It may be added that locomotives were once universally named as steamboats are to-day, the "General Morris," "Reuben Wells," "Dillard Rickets," etc., but illustrating the old custom of doing honor to men of note in the railroad world.

Railroad Mileage.—The railroad mileage in Indiana at various periods, according to the census reports of 1890, was: 1860, 2,163; 1870, 3,177; 1880, 4,373; 1886, 5,711.96; 1887, 5,798.94; 1888, 5,890.26; 1889, 6,003.76; 1890, 6,090.66. The census abstract for 1900 gives no statistics of steam railways.

In closing this we may add the following from a work on railways (Tuck's) issued in 1847: "In 1824 the first locomotive traveled at the rate of six miles per hour; in 1829 the 'Rocket' traveled at the rate of fifteen miles per hour; in 1834 the 'Fire-fly' attained the speed of twenty miles per hour; in 1839 the 'North Star' moved with a velocity of thirty-seven miles per hour, and at the present moment locomotives have attained the speed of seventy miles per hour." We have elsewhere seen it recorded that as early as 1850 trains had attained a speed of sixty miles an hour—a somewhat astonishing fact considering the crude form of the locomotive at that period. We have nowhere seen any statement as to such speed on Indiana roads, and, as said above, twenty miles per hour seems to have been regarded as a high rate of speed.

Errata and Omissions.—The date of the first work on the L. & I. railroad, given on page 152 should read 1834 instead of 1854. To the list of important lines mentioned on page 159 should be added the Ohio & Mississippi, which in 1857 became a completed

link in a continuous line that reached from Baltimore to St. Louis, "then the longest stretch of railroad track in the world." The completion of the three lines making this route—the Baltimore & Ohio, the Marietta & Cincinnati and the Ohio & Mississippi—was the occasion of a great railroad celebration. The first train over the road was a "Celebration Train," which was filled with railroad and government dignitaries and was greeted with much bunting and noise at all the towns along the way. The event was so notable as to call forth a good-sized illustrated book descriptive of the trip, which volume can be found in the State Library. Among the immediate influences of the railroads should be mentioned the first State fair, held at Indianapolis in 1852. The convenience of transportation afforded by them made possible something larger than the local fairs that had previously existed. The 1,365 entries in this fair came from all over the State, and some of them from other States, and they presented an industrial exhibit such as the westerners had never seen before and such as was hardly possible under the old systems of transportation.

GEO. S. COTTMAN.

FIRST CANAL SURVEYS.

SINCE our article on early canals (published in September issue), we have learned from a gazetteer of 1826 that at that early date a letter of instruction had been issued from the United States Engineering Department for the survey of four canal routes in the State of Indiana, as follows: 1. To unite the waters of Lake Michigan with the Wabash river, by the way of the St. Joseph river valley. 2. The uniting of the Wabash and White rivers by way of the Mississinewa or the "Pouceanpicheax" valley. 3. The uniting of the rivers at Ft. Wayne with the Ohio river by way of the Whitewater valley. 4. A canal "to turn the Falls of the Ohio near Jeffersonville." In accordance with these instructions, the engineers, says the gazetteer, "commenced their examinations on the Whitewater route on the 8th of July, 1826." Whether anything was ever done on surveys 1 and 2 we have not learned. The letter, as indicating a canal movement at that date, adds an item to the history of the subject.

PIONEER LIFE.

BY BENJAMIN S. PARKER.

PAPER NO. IV.

Clothing of the Pioneers; the Deerskin and Its Uses; Picturesque Costumes—Home-made Fabrics: Linsey and Jeans—Dye-stuffs Used: Butternut, Walnut and Indigo—The Styles of Garments—Pioneer Finery; Ladies and Gentlemen of the Old School—The Quaker Costumes—Footwear; the Introduction of the Boot—The Surtout, Cloak and Shawl—A Traveling Outfit—Superstitions.

DEERSKIN, tanned either with or without the hair, was much in use among the early settlers of Henry county for pantaloons, hunting shirts and moccasins, as well as for gloves and mittens. It is possible that the old rollicking song of

“Leather breeches, full of stitches,
Leather breeches, buttons on,” etc.

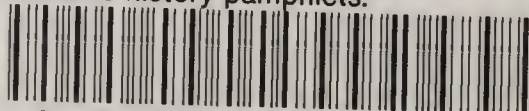
was inspired by the old backwoods article of clothing wrought from “the red deer’s tawny skin.”

A well-tanned and well-made suit of buckskin gave the wearer a rather neat and jaunty appearance that had a very evident touch of aboriginal taste and elegance. The hunting shirt, which could be worn as an outer garment, either with or without a vest, was often made to fit closely and fasten about the waist with a belt, though sometimes it was worn without a belt. It was made more picturesque by heavy fringing around the edges made by cutting the buckskin into thin strings, and occasionally a lover of primitive finery had his shirt and moccasins ornamented with beads and brightly colored porcupine quills by Indian women. The average deerskin uniform was tanned and made by some man in the neighborhood who had some skill in that line of work. They were sewed with thongs of leather or sinews, and would, with ordinary care, last for years. Such a suit was very warm if thoroughly dry, but when wet was distressingly uncomfortable and cold. After wetting, these buckskins had a way of shrinking that was the reverse of pleasant

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